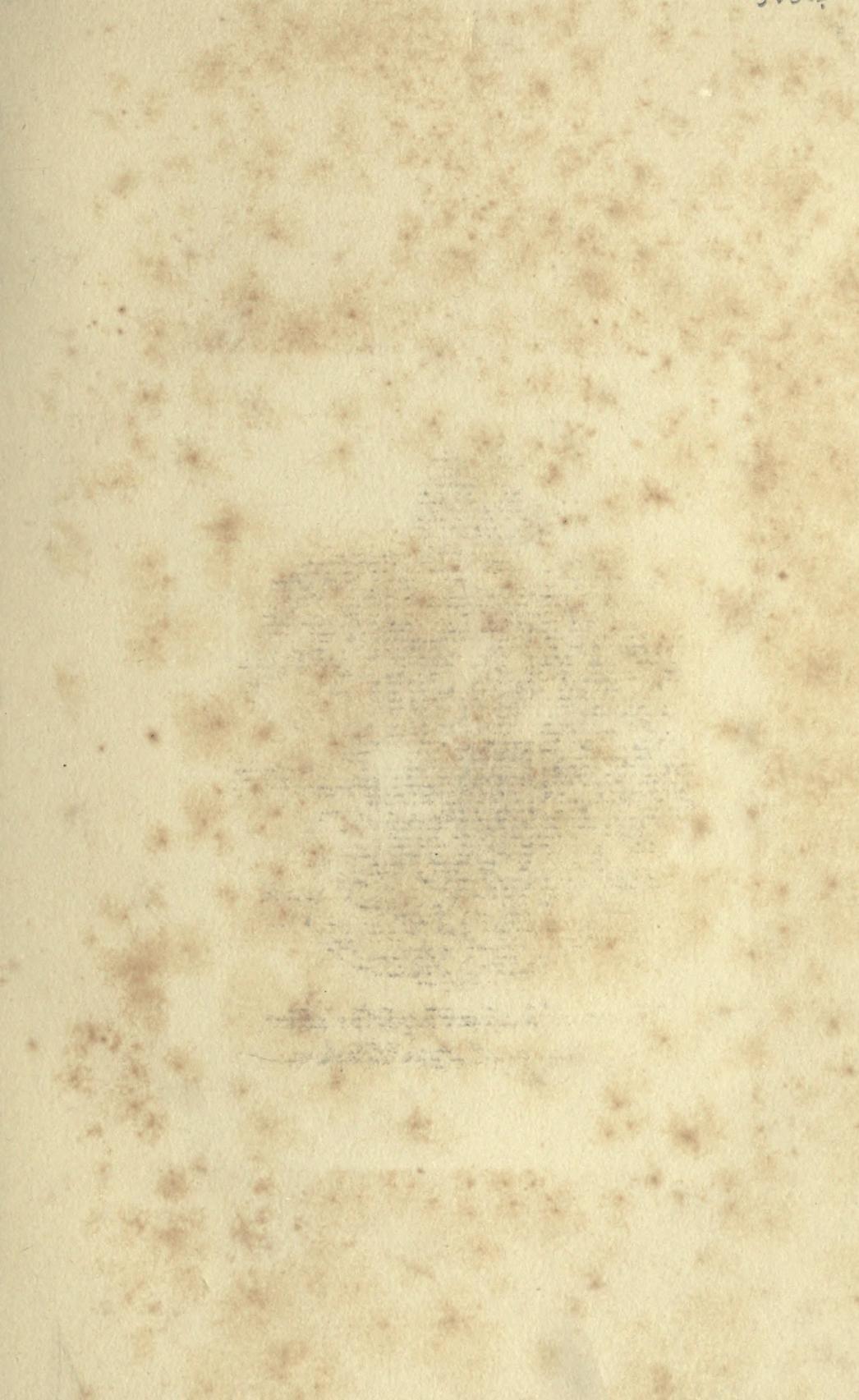




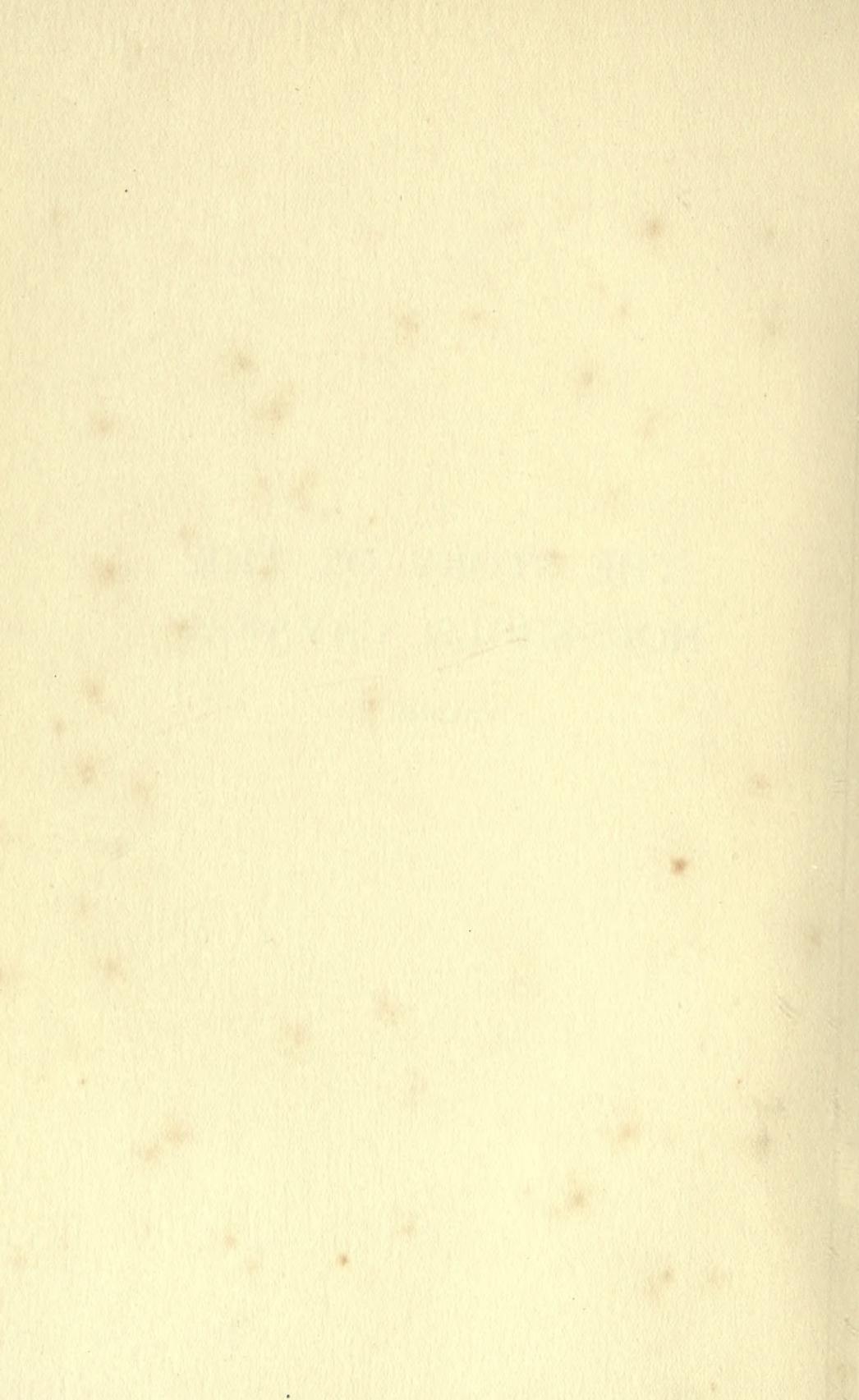


Thomas Charles Pleydell Calley,
of Burderop Park in Wiltshire.



THE STORY OF THE
HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

VOLUME I





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*His Majesty the King.
Colonel in Chief of the Household Cavalry.
From a photograph by Messrs. Doney.*

THE STORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

BY CAPTAIN SIR GEORGE ARTHUR
BART. LATE SECOND LIFE GUARDS

VOLUME I

LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
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1909



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DEDICATED
BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION
TO
HIS MAJESTY
KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH
COLONEL-IN-CHIEF
OF THE
HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

PREFACE

THE Author of *The History of the British Army* is responsible for the dictum that "Regimental History, if properly understood, is not a mere catalogue of dry facts." The present work has been written with this pregnant saying of Mr. Fortescue's in constant recollection. THE STORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY—whatever its faults of omission or commission—can at least lay claim to be something more than a *catalogue raisonné* of regimental campaigns and reviews—of individual commissions and honours. The aim throughout has been to depict the history and career of the Life Guards, Horse Grenadier Guards, and Royal Horse Guards, not as isolated from their *milieu*, but amid the circumstances and under the conditions in which they have continuously lived and moved and had their being. It seemed to me that a well-filled background of the picture was essential to its fidelity and significance as a portrait.

I would fain hope that this attempt, however inadequate, to narrate the Story of the Household Cavalry may at any rate afford incontestable evidence that the Bodyguard of the Sovereign has done its duty in Camp as well as at Court. There exists in some quarters an idea that the active service of the Blues has been greatly in excess of that of the Life Guards, but the history of two centuries and a half bears witness that this is not the case. If comparison must be made between the two, the Life Guards' services in the seventeenth century seem a fair

set-off to the Blues' campaigns in the eighteenth ; while on all other—including the most important—occasions they are to be found as comrades in arms.

The chief aim of this Book will have been fulfilled if its perusal should remind those now serving in the Household Cavalry that devotion to duty, alike in peace and in war, is for them an inherited tradition—that in long bygone days, not less than in more recent times, both Life Guards and Blues exhibited the same high qualities which in the nineteenth century elicited the unaffected admiration and unstinted praise of the foremost military authorities.

The references strewn up and down the following pages may serve to indicate with sufficient particularity the greater number of the authorities consulted. Every effort has been made to derive information from the best, and especially from original and hitherto unknown, sources.

I have, in the first place, to express my most earnest and dutiful thanks to the august Colonel-in-Chief of the Household Cavalry, His Majesty the King, for his gracious permission to make use of the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, where a considerable portion of my task has been executed—with the additional advantage that I was able to seek the expert counsel and rely on the kindly proffered advice of the Librarian, Mr. John Fortescue.

It has been an invaluable assistance to me in compiling these Annals to have placed at my disposal a large number of unpublished papers—among others those belonging to the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Crawford, and Lord Montagu of Beaulieu—from which much new and valuable light has been shed on many points hitherto obscure. As regards the Peninsula and Waterloo campaigns, and the Duke of Wellington's appointment to and tenure of the Colonely

of the Blues, the Apsley House papers have been drawn upon to supplement the Duke's published despatches and memoranda.

The surviving regimental records of the Household Cavalry, if conveniently slender in bulk, are correspondingly meagre in historical information, especially with regard to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless I am greatly indebted to the Commanding Officers of the three Regiments, and to the Orderly Room officials, for many valuable particulars, as well as for much patient and ungrudging help.

A special word of grateful acknowledgment must be tendered to the Officers who have allowed me to use their diaries and journals of the Egyptian and South African Wars. On numerous points these records serve to illustrate the official accounts as well as the memoranda preserved by myself and others who witnessed some of the work of the Composite Household Regiment. I have also to express my obligations to General the Honourable Sir Reginald Talbot for his ready kindness in consenting to read over, and to make suggestions concerning, my account of the Khartum Relief Expedition.

Finally, my best thanks are due to the officials at the British Museum, the Record Office, and the Guildhall Library, as also to the Librarians of the Royal United Service Institution and the Carlton Club, for their generous and useful help. At the Institution both Colonel Leetham and Mr. Sargeaunt have afforded me much valuable information and assistance; and I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Wintern for her permission to reproduce several pictures and a plan from the unpublished illustrations to the late Colonel Clifford Walton's *History of the British Standing Army*, which are the unique possession of the Royal United Service Institution.

As the story of the Household Cavalry is a long one,

and deals, not with one corps, but with several, it will be understood that considerations of space have precluded me from giving a complete list—such as is usually found in a regimental history—of all the officers who have served in the Life Guards, the Horse Grenadier Guards, and the Royal Horse Guards. This omission is less serious than it might otherwise have been in view of the fact that Mr. Charles Dalton's invaluable *Army Lists* record all commissions and promotions between 1660 and 1714, and of the hopeful anticipation that he may continue his useful work up to 1740—the year in which the first official *Army List* made its appearance.

G. C. A. A.

CARLTON CLUB,
St. George's Day, 1909.

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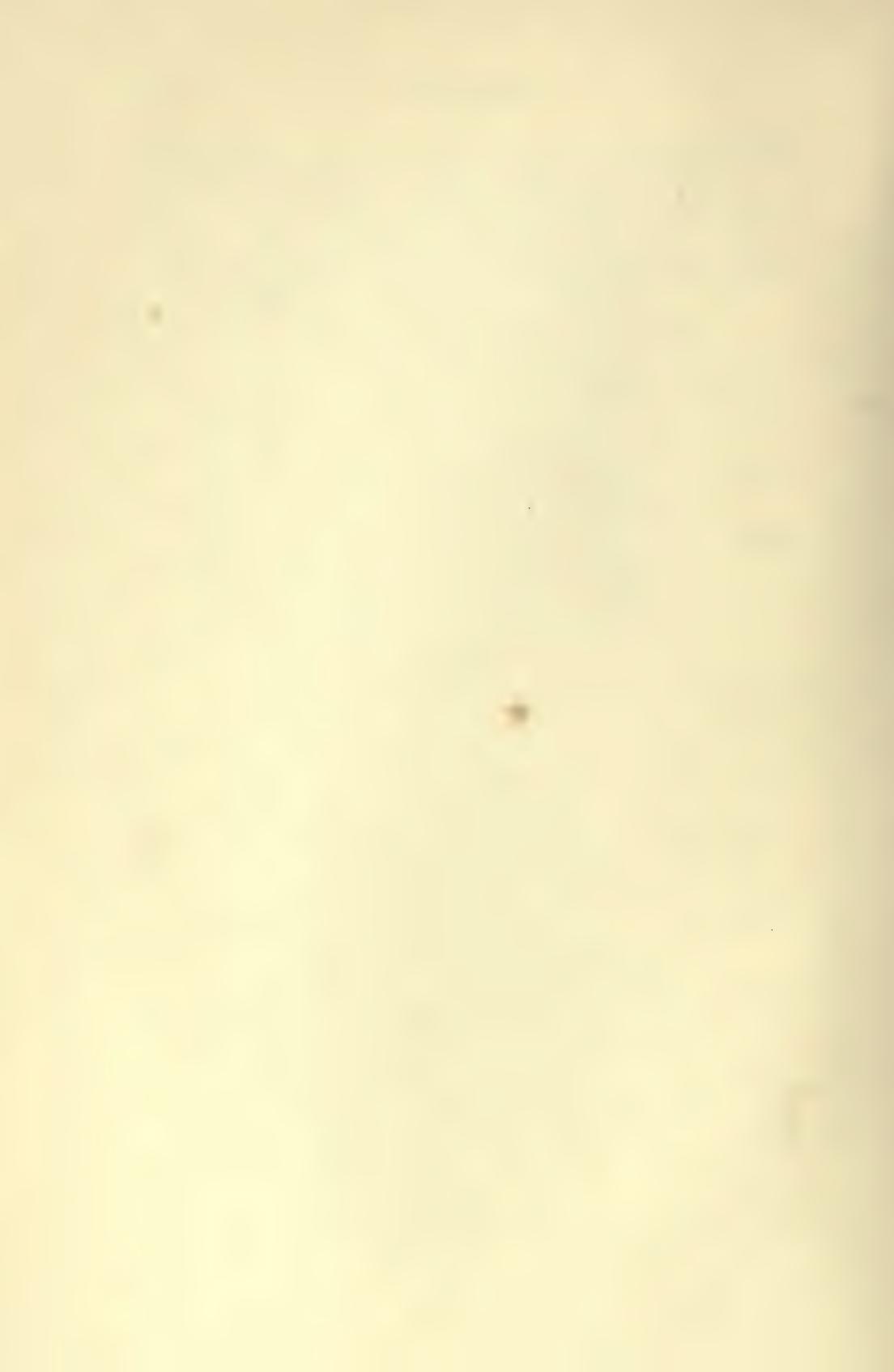
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MAPS AND PLANS

THE STORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

CHAPTER I

ALTHOUGH the establishment of the King's Household Cavalry must be dated from the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy, the notion of forming a mounted guard to keep watch over the safety of the Sovereign was at that period neither a novel nor an original one. The Corps of Yeomen of the Guard was established in 1485 by King Henry the Seventh.* King Henry the Eighth is credited with the institution in 1509 of "the Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners"—now the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. They were fifty in number, and obliged to keep horses. In the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth there occur notices, not only of the Yeomen of the Guard, but of "the Queen's Guard," who were evidently mounted—since mention is made of grass being provided for their horses—and whose identity with the Gentlemen Pensioners may perhaps be

* See Sir R. Hennell, *History of the Yeomen of the Guard*.

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assumed. They had uniforms, for in 1602 the sum of £2,880—equivalent to at least £12,000 at the present day—was spent on “Liveries for the Guard.” In the reign of Charles the First “the Guards” had smart uniforms, as the following little bill indicates:—

1625. February 7.	£
Red Cloth for the rich Coats of the Guards	450
To the Embroidery of the said Coats	667
Fine Gold, Silver, for Spangles for the same.	2,926
The Tailor for making the same	220
	<hr/>
	£4,263

During the Great Rebellion a number of Royalists of the noble class formed a bodyguard to King Charles the First,* and, on the death of the Royal Martyr, crossed the sea to proffer a similar service to his son and successor.†

King Charles the Second, during his sojourn in France as the guest of Louis Quatorze, had doubtless been favourably impressed by the grace and chivalry of his royal host's bodyguard ‡—the very flower of the French army—and had determined that, whenever circumstances should permit, he would re-model his own military escort after the fashion so appreciatively described by Evelyn:—

The more principal nerve of the French power consists in his forces at land—chiefly his cavalry—which is a strength and spectacle both of admiration and gallantry; they being for the greater part composed of gentlemen who generally so bequeath themselves to his service that he who (amongst them) hath not made two or three campagnas by that time he is 18 years of age, is esteemed a *person lasche*—that is, of a soft education and small repute; besides the horse is an exercise unto which they have so naturall a disposition and addresse, that the

* See APPENDIX A, § 1.

† The Parliament established a body styled Life Guards and Oliver Cromwell, under date of April 4th, 1656, writes: “Munday last, the Life Guards mustered in Tuttle Fields, they are the best Horse and properest fellows I have seen.” See APPENDIX A, § 2.

‡ The *Maison de Roy*, otherwise written *Maison du Roi*.

whole earth doth not contain so many academies dedicated chiefly to this discipline, and other martiall Gymnastiques. (*Misc. Writings.*)

Having, after many vicissitudes, exchanged the hospitality of the French Court for that of the Netherlands, Charles, during his sojourn in Holland, chose some eighty or more Cavalier gentlemen from among those who had devotedly followed him into exile, and formed them into a corps of Life Guards under the command of Lord Gerard, Baron of Brandon, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield. During the latter part of the King's stay at the Hague,* these gentlemen mounted guard regularly, twenty at a time, over their royal master; while, whenever His Majesty drove out, the same number, riding on either side of his coach, would attend him on horseback.

Sir William Lower writes in his journal:—

As it was known that there was found in the Fleet a man bold enough to put fire to the powder when the King should go to see the Vessel, which obliged Admiral Montagu himself to seize on the key of the Powder Magazine and carry it in his pocket, the King was advised to chuse a guard of four score gentlemen under the charge of

* Will. Wind, Winde, or Wynd, to whom the following is addressed, cannot be positively identified with an officer who was afterwards successively Cornet and Lieutenant of the Blues. The letter illustrates the early history of the King's bodyguard:—

“ ENSIGNE

“ I have nott hard from you a greate whyle I prae lett mee knowe weather you have receaved the fower hundred gilders wch I have sent you and also howe your leawes goes on that I mae maek staet accordingly, you are to maek staet to come awae from Bergin with your men the 20th of April. I prae doe your utmost Indeawor to bring a good number, lett mee heare from you by the first direct your Letter to the hage my humble service to your father, I Remayne,

“ Your humble servant

“ 8 of Aprill, 1658.

“ J. GRIFFITH.

“ I believe my regement wilbe for the Kinges gards ther foer eawery one must doe his best to performe to the utmoest to gitt good men.”

[Endorsed:—] “ A Monsieur Mons: Wynd Ensigne de Collonell Griffith A Berginopzoon.” (*Hist. MSS., Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.*)

the Lord Gerard, Captain of his Life guards and one of the four gentlemen of his bedchamber, which served by Brigades, so that there was alwaies twenty which marched on both sides the coach, having one hand on the supporting staff of the boot and holding a sword drawn out of the belt but in the scabbard in the other. But as this posture was somewhat irregular and offensive in a country where the person of his Majesty was no less dear than in his Kingdom, the King, considering that to hinder approach to his person was sufficient to secure it, would that they should wear their swords by their sides, and carry a cane in their hands, which assured their countenance and made their quality and charge to be respected.

To this bodyguard there was shortly added a further and more numerous selection of Cavalier gentlemen, so that, just before the King ended his exile, their number had been increased to nearly six hundred. It was not, however, till after Charles's arrival in England that any definite settlement was made, either of the strength of the corps, or of the number of its officers.

The King sailed from Holland on May 23rd, 1660, and landed at Dover on May 25th, at 1 p.m.; but, as accommodation could not be found in the town for even a quarter of his suite, His Majesty decided to start immediately for Canterbury.

Before the King's disembarkation the question had been eagerly debated among his advisers as to what form should be observed in his reception of General Monk. The General's chaplain, Gumble, (otherwise Gumball) in his *Life of Monk* wrote:—*

The General received Him [the King] with becoming duty, but His Majestie embraced him with an affection so absolutely entire and vehement as higher could not be expressed by a Prince to a subject. This relator had the honour to be at the General's back and the third person that kissed the hem of His Majesties garments after he set

* Another contemporary writer thus described the situation:—

“The admirers of Majesty were jealous on His Majestie's behalf of too low a condescension, and the Lovers of Duty fearful on the other side of an Ostentation of Merit. But such an humble prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by His Majestie kissing and embracing him, that all Parties were satisfied to admiration.”

foot in England. He set himself to observe His Majesties countenance at the first landing, where he did see a mixture of other passions with joy in his Face.

Echard confirms this :—

General Monk stood ready to receive Him, which he did with all Duty upon his knees, while His Majesty took him into his arms, embraced and kissed him. The King after that walked up with the General under a Canopy, a Chair of State being carried by his side.

The King gave further proof of his regard for Monk by inviting him to share with the Duke of Buckingham the boot of the royal coach, in which His Majesty took his place with his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester. At Canterbury the King bestowed on Monk the Order of the Garter, the Duke of York handing him the Garter and the Duke of Gloucester the George. From Canterbury to London the royal progress was one festive procession. At Blackheath awaiting the King's coming were 20,000 of the stern soldiery who had for years been the mainstay of the Cromwellian *regime*.*

On the memorable and auspicious 29th of the month, which was also the thirtieth anniversary of his nativity, King Charles the Second made his public entry into London. Of the magnificent cavalcade which attended him on this historic occasion the most important section merits detailed description. The way being led by His Majesty's twelve ministers, there followed immediately behind them three squadrons of the first or King's Troop† of Life Guards, each squadron being preceded by its own kettledrums and

* 1660, May 29th. S. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson. "At Blackheath not less than 120,000 people. All the horse came along with the King to the City. The King's Life Guard and Col. Monck's Life Guard always next the King's person." (*Hist. MSS., Duke of Sutherland.*)

† The corps of Life Guards was already at this period composed of three Troops, each with its own Captain, and apparently each of these again was divided into "squadrons"—the term being perhaps loosely used as an equivalent of "detachment." At the present day this relation of squadron to troop is inverted.

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trumpets. At the head of the first rode Lord Gerard; the second was led by Sir Gilbert Gerard and Major Roscarrick, and the third by Colonel Prague. These were succeeded by the City Marshal with footmen in livery—some in red coats laced with silver, others in cloth of gold—City waits, and officers. Next came the Aldermen and Sheriffs, mounted and robed in their scarlet gowns, after whom rode the Lord Mayor, supported on either side by the Lord General (Monk)* and the Duke of Buckingham. Last of all followed His Majesty the King on horseback, accompanied by his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and escorted by the Lord General's troop of Life Guards.

Next day the King's Troop, "richly cloathed and well mounted," paraded before the Duke of Gloucester in Hyde Park, about six hundred strong. The officers present were Lord Gerard, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Major-General Egerton, Sir Thomas Sandys, Colonel Thomas Howard, and Colonel Panton.

The business which first and most urgently forced itself on the attention of the newly-restored monarch was that of raising sufficient money to pay off and disband the existing military force, lately augmented to nearly 60,000 men. For this paramount object Parliament willingly decreed a heavy poll-tax. In consenting to dispense with the standing army, Charles may well have been actuated in the first instance by a desire to pose as a strictly constitutional sovereign, being well aware that his people's rooted objection to a force of this description rendered it needful to act with caution. He realised to the full how this prejudice had been reinforced by the things the

* On July 7th General Monk was created Duke of Albemarle. Lord Ailesbury (*Memoirs*, p. 9) says "he was of an ancient gentleman's family, in the county of Devon, and lineally descended from heirs female, of noble extraction. . . . He was naturally of heavy parts and illiterate, . . . but he supplied that by a good judgment."

country had had to suffer under the grim and grinding military tyranny which had established itself on the basis of successful sedition.

To the Royalists the idea of a standing army was especially obnoxious, associated as it was with the horrid memory of rebellion and regicide. The Parliament which lasted for eighteen years after the Restoration was Royalist to the backbone, but its opposition to a standing army was consistently vigorous throughout the whole period of its existence. Its objections to a permanent military force were clearly formulated in 1674, and are set forth at length in CHAPTER XII. Sir William Morice, formerly a leading champion of the Restoration, and now a Secretary-of-State, expressed the general sentiment when he declared in Parliament that, "as long as the soldiery continued, there would be a perpetual trembling in the nation—that they were inconsistent with the happiness of any nation." Another member of Parliament, Colonel Birch, affirmed that "the people's liberties were not safe with such an army."

That Charles really desired and was determined to possess a standing army is a fact that dominates his whole reign, and although his earliest attempts at military organisation proved abortive, he never lost sight of his object, or neglected any opportunity or pretext for augmenting the forces grudgingly granted to him by Parliament. On the other hand, he could of course have no special affection for the force he found already in being—a body composed largely of republican sympathisers and Anabaptist fanatics. The army the King wanted was one on which he could rely: in other words, an army officered entirely by Royalists, even if in military efficiency they might compare unfavourably with Cromwell's highly trained veterans. Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, could have had little difficulty in enforcing the argument that the

armed forces which had restored the King to his throne "were a body of men who had cut off his father's head ; that they had set up and pulled down several sorts of government ; and that it might be his own turn next."

The Act authorising the disbandment of the troops recognised, nevertheless, two very notable exceptions, in that it gave the express sanction of Parliament to the continuance of both guards and garrisons. The latter were chiefly intended for Scotland, being re-established on the lines laid down for them thirty years before ; while, with respect to the former, the King was to be free to retain as his personal bodyguard "such as His Majesty shall think fit to dispose of and maintain at his own charge."* Further, in consequence of a representation made to the Privy Council by the Duke of York, the House of Commons on June 30th, 1660, resolved that "the troop of Guards to His Royal Highness the Duke of Yorke, consisting of one hundred horsemen, besides officers, being now in Flanders, be added to the establishment of His Majesty's garrison of Dunkirk."

From the general process of disbandment by lot, however, not even the troop of Life Guards which the King had brought over from abroad was to be exempt, although by special resolution of the Commons it was graciously conceded that the regiments of the Dukes of York and Gloucester,† together with the Lord General's Regiment of Foot (now the Coldstream Guards) and his troop of Horse, should be the last of the military forces disbanded.

* Echard neatly sums up the bearings of this vexed question :— "The King on his disbanding the army thought fit to establish a considerable number of Horse and Foot Guard, commonly called the Life Guard, which, though not disliked at present, being of special use at this time, was afterwards complained of as a considerable grievance to the Nation, and as having too near an alliance with a standing army."

† On the very day—a week later—on which this statute received the Royal assent occurred the untimely death from small-pox of the Duke of Gloucester, perhaps the most promising of Charles the First's sons.

As a further measure of conciliation, an Act was passed enabling soldiers to exercise any trades without having served the usual apprenticeships; while to every disbanded soldier was to be allowed a week's pay in excess of any arrears owed him. Among the corps to which this bounty was due Pell's *Issue Rolls* mentions the "*Satellites Domini Regis vocati* the Life Guards." A considerable proportion of the stream of petitions with which now and for some time to come the Throne was flooded set forth the claims of aggrieved and distressed ex-soldiers.* In the middle of November it was announced that, if only the money provision made by the Act were realised, the disbanding of the troops would be completed within a fortnight. In the case of one regiment, as sufficient money was not forthcoming to pay off all the soldiers, the officers made up the deficit at their own personal cost.†

It is not very surprising that men suddenly released from the restraints of discipline, and with their pay in their pocket, should have got a little out of hand, so that in December it was deemed necessary to issue an order that all disbanded officers and soldiers—unless they could show satisfactory cause to the contrary—should remove themselves to a distance of at least twenty miles from the cities of London and Westminster.

* See APPENDIX B.

† "We must not forget to acquaint you that the officers of this regiment (R. Ingoldsby's), finding the money fall too short to pay off all their men, to avoid the least discontent that might arise amongst the soldiery, did out of their own pay disburse so much money as discharged all the private soldiers." (*Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 52.)

APPENDIX A

§ 1. THE Domestic State Papers throw some light on the subject of King Charles the First's Life Guards:—

On May 12th, 1639, Ed. Norgate wrote to Robert Read: "I am now commanded from the King to make certain patterns for four new ensigns with devices, for the guard of his person, the troops to be commanded by my Lord Chamberlain." This was written from Newcastle, when the King was advancing with a large army to Berwick.

In July in the same year (1639) there is a document of six pages (No. 81, vol. ccccxxvi.), giving an "Account of money due to the regiments of Sir Henry Vane, Sir Wm. Saville, and Sir Jacob Astley, and the 4 companies of Life Guards under Montague Lord Willoughby."

In the same year (1639):—"Our Pavilion in Hartley-Field." (Order signed by the King). "Our pleasure is that our regiment of Guards shall punctually observe and follow the directions of their officers, as well for the drawing out in arms as for the punctual observance of their duties. To which end we have commanded our Sergeant Major," who, it appears further on, was the same as the Commissary General, Sir Foulk Hounkes, "to see them all squadroned, and according to the rolls thereof annexed not to fail in any of their duties. . . . Likewise we have taken care for the stabling of 300 horse within our quarter," etc.

§ 2. In the time of Cromwell, "Life Guards" are mentioned definitely:—

"Sep 17, 1658. List of the Life Guards, 22 officers, 141 men & 4 trumpeters." (No. 114, vol. clxxxii., p. 1.)

"June 13, 1659. The business &c. &c. to be considered in the afternoon, and that touching the Life Guards tomorrow afternoon."

"June 20, 1659. Committee of Safety & for Nomination of Officers.

"Col. Alured to command the Guard for Parliament, & have a colonel's pay.

"Lieutenant to the said Guard: John Calines.

"Cornet: Hen. Vane.

"Corporals: Sam. Nelson, Thos. Cooper, Rich. Watling, & Rich. Ward.

"Quartermaster: — Morley, to the said Guards.

"The former Life Guard to be reduced to 120, beside officers, & be a troop to guard Parliament when sitting, and the Council of State in the intervals, at 3s. a day each."

"June 16, 1659. Order that there be a guard to Parliament when sitting, & in its intervals to Council, to consist of 120 horse at 3s. a day each. The officers to be a captain at 20s. daily, lieutenant 14s., cornet 12s., quartermaster 9s., four corporals 16s., and 2 trumpeters."

APPENDIX B

By way of illustration are here given a few specimens of the petitions to Charles the Second having reference to His Majesty's Horse Guards during the earlier years of his reign.

1660, May 31. Sir W. Courtney and Thomas Daniell, Lieutenant-Colonel of His Majesty's own Troop, having applied for receiverships in some of the seven western counties, find that most of these are filled up, except Dorset and Somerset, which, however, have only a fee of £50—"too small a favour for them." The petitioners seek for a post in the Life Guards.

1660, December. Hugh, son of Sir T. Redmaine, late Governor of Pontefract Castle, petitions for a place in the Life Guards, or to be Page of the backstairs. His father died in the King's father's service, and his widow and six children were left destitute.

(?) 1660, October. Petition of Francis Arundel of Longwood, co. Hants, Colonel of the Life Guard of the late King, to be now in His Majesty's Life Guard.

1660, December. Jacob Chalk petitions for admission to the Life Guard of Horse. He commanded as Captain and Adjutant in the service of the late King.

1660, December. Stephen Caslee petitions to be appointed surgeon to the Life Guards. [His name does not occur in the list of surgeons.]

1661, January. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Cropper petitions for preferment in the additional Guards to be raised. He served the late King till taken prisoner at Bridgwater, and since His Majesty's return has been at great charge to fit himself with a horse and handsome equipage to maintain himself in the Guards under Lord Gerard.

1661, January. Petition of Thomas Caley, of the Life Guards, to the King, representing that his uncle, whose heir he was, "is so discontented with him for his loyalty at the Restoration in coming to serve with the Life Guards that he has cut him out of his will." [Commission dated 26 January.]

1661, February 9. A letter of Joseph Radcliffe to Katharine Hurleston recounts that he was ordered on a party to Gloucester, but was too ill to go, and had to hire a deputy; that he is "put out of the Guards for not giving Sir Philip Howard an account of his absence, when he was on secret business, which should be kept quiet; and that he is kept on duty with his horse 10 or 12 days after being disbanded—a thing he never heard of before." He requests her to speak for him to Secretary Nicholas for a place in the Customs, and for protection from bailiffs.

1661, April 19. Petition of "33 Gentlemen late of the Life Guard whose case was presented to the King in print on tuesday last, that being cast off and destitute they may be allowed to ride in the Life Guard or elsewhere on the King's service."

1663. Captain Comberford petitions for a pension or pay as retired officer. He served the Duke of York in France and Flanders, rode in the Life Guards, was with the forces for the relief of Portugal. Lost an arm in the fight.

1663, April. Petition of Thomas Bunce, whose father Sir J. Bunce spent at Breda for His Majesty £8,000; has suffered much, and barely escaped hanging for his loyalty, and has been at expense to serve in the Life Guards.

1663, November 26. Petition of Lieutenant Riardane for a place as horseman in any of the three "regiments" [i.e., Troops] of Life Guards. Petitioner was in the service of the Queen Mother.

1663, November 26. Petition of Colonel Kingsley of the Life Guards, turned out for retaining £3 10s. out of £5 given to him by the Duke of Albemarle for the person who discovered the Wood Street plot.

CHAPTER II

THE policy of trying to dispense with a permanent military force was soon, however, to receive a rude shock, and the need of a bodyguard for the protection of the person of the Sovereign to be forcibly illustrated. On June 28th, 1660, appointed as the Thanksgiving Day for the Restoration, just as the King was passing from the guard-chamber at Whitehall to his closet, a man was discovered lying in wait to assassinate him. The Duke of York, with the sterling sagacity which in his younger days was his conspicuous characteristic, represented to the Council that this attempt on the King's life rendered it imperative to make better provision for the safety of His Majesty's person and the security of his Government. The warning, unheeded at the time, may well have been recalled and its wisdom recognised, first in December on the discovery of a plot, happily frustrated, for releasing the Regicides and restoring the Republic,* and again when, on the ensuing 6th of January, news was brought to the Council of the Venner outbreak.

Thomas Venner, a wine cooper, was the leader of a sect of fanatics known as Millenarians or Fifth Monarchy

* Ralph, *History of Charles II. and James II.*, p. 35, quotes the *Mercurius Publicus* of December 15th, 1660 :—"That night very many persons, according to Order, were by that loyal Gentleman, Sir Gilbert Gerard, who then commanded the Guard, seized and committed to custody." As will appear in the succeeding pages, the snake of Round-head sedition, though scotched, was not killed. Lord Ailesbury (*Memoirs*, p. 9) mentions several risings in and near London as "wholly owing to enthusiasts and dregs of officers, Independents, and Anabaptists, the remains of Cromwell's officers."

Men, whose distinctive tenet was a belief in the immediate commencement of the Millennium and establishment by Christ on earth of the fifth universal monarchy. For the accomplishment of this divinely ordained scheme they proceeded to allege themselves to be the no less divinely appointed instruments, and to announce their resolve never to sheathe their swords till "Babylon," in the shape of all constituted human earthly authority, should be "a hissing and a curse"—till "the kings of the earth should be bound in chains, and the nobles in fetters of iron." With souls fired by these inflammatory views fifty of the zealots sallied forth on Twelfth Night from their meeting-house in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, and entered on a struggle with the authorities which—truth to tell—was distinguished rather by the personal pluck of the Lord Mayor than by the prowess of the Life Guard. The fanatics were able not only to overpower the watch—which they did rather easily—but to brush aside even the City Trained Bands. This indignity offered to the civic force was too much for the proud spirit of the patriot Lord Mayor, who, hastily collecting a few devoted followers, appeared on the scene of disorder and demanded the unconditional surrender of the rebels. The only reply being a torrent of texts, the City's gallant Chief Magistrate headed a charge and chased the insurgents, not without loss of life, right out of the town, whence they retreated to Caen Wood, near Highgate.

The news of the uprising brought the military into action. Sir Thomas Sandys, heading a party composed of some of Albemarle's Troop of Life Guards and two hundred infantry, started off to round up the rebels at Highgate. After a sharp engagement, in which there were twenty casualties among the Guards, the enemy succeeded in getting away, and throughout the following day remained securely in hiding. Next morning, however,

taking heart of grace, the fanatics emerged from their retreat, and boldly re-entered the City. By this time, however, further and effective measures had been taken to restore order. The Duke of York in person, with the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Oxford, and other distinguished onlookers, accompanied a small mounted party from Whitehall, which, under Colonel John Corbet, advanced into the City to meet the rebels. It consisted of only twenty troopers—all, in fact, that was left of the Guard! In Wood Street, Cheapside, the insurgents took refuge in an ale-house, whence they could not have been dislodged except by setting fire to it—an expedient which would have endangered the whole street. A sailor named Lambart, an efficient representative of the “handy man” of the period, managed to untile the roof and force an entry. Corbet in person charged the enemy with nine of his party, for the rest “did a little desert him and retreated to the upper end of Cheape Side, calling out for foote, which does a little staine on their redd scarves.” (Rugge’s *Diurnal*.) The names of the nine gentlemen who so bravely accompanied the Colonel deserve to be remembered. They were Sir Horatio Carew,* Lieutenant Colonel Luntley, Major Bennet Henshaw, Captains Cleaver, John Madan, Henry Chapman and Timothy Doughty, Mr. Adderley and Mr. Ralph Skipwith. Captain Doughty was wounded with a cut on the head, and Captain Madan was shot in the thigh.†

The fanatics had the courage of their opinions. Only one man asked for quarter, whereupon a wounded comrade, bitterly cursing his craven spirit, tried to stab him. Venner himself received nineteen wounds, and was only just kept alive by the surgeon to become a prey for the hangman.

* Presumably the Sir H. Carey of pp. 25, 107.

† See the APPENDIX for a contemporary newspaper narrative.

On the morrow of the rising the Council, now thoroughly alarmed, had, on the initiative of the Duke of York,* written to the King, who was then at Portsmouth, urging His Majesty to stop the disbandment of the Lord General's Troop of Horse Guards and Regiment of Foot, both of which were to have been disbanded that very day, and representing that he should rather think of raising more men for the security of his person and government.

The situation was so far critical, that, if the outbreak had been postponed for a couple of nights, it would have found the King entirely deprived of soldiers. Charles, though he forbore formally to countermand the order for disbanding Albemarle's Regiment of Foot (the Coldstream Guards) and Troop of Horse Guards, nevertheless acted on the Council's advice by directing the immediate formation of three new bodies of troops. Of these the first was a regiment of Foot Guards (the Grenadier Guards), composed of twelve companies, under the command of Colonel John Russell. The second was a regiment of Horse consisting of eight troops, of which the Colonel was to be the Earl of Oxford. The third was a troop of Horse Guards to be raised by Lord Gerard, and to be called the King's Troop. As an important supplementary measure, the King sent for the Duke of York's Troop of Guards, which was still at Dunkirk, and which arrived without delay.†

* The Duke's proposals went much beyond what the Lord Chancellor contemplated. James himself writes:—"It may be wondered at that the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Southampton, the King's chief counsellors, who had been eye-witnesses of the insurrections and rebellions in the time of King Charles I., and what he suffered for want of good guards, should now be so careless of the King's safety as not to have advised him to secure himself from such dangers for the future." (*Clarke.*)

† 1661, February 19. S. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson. "All at Court is peaceable and quiet since the King hath new-modelled his Life Guard." (*Hist. MSS., Duke of Sutherland.*)

The story of the last of the disbandment and the beginning of the re-enlistment is thus told in *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, February 18th—25th, 1661.

WESTMINSTER, February 20th, 1661.—On Thursday the 14th of February, the Commissioners disbanded the Lord General's Regiment of Foot and Life Guard of Horse, on Tower Hill, being the only remaining land forces of the army, with more than ordinary solemnity. Four of the Commissioners drove from Westminster in a coach to Tower Hill, about ten of the clock on Thursday, being Valentine's day, where the Lord General's Regiment of Foot and Life Guard appearing with their arms before them, were flatteringly thus addressed:—That God had highly honoured them in the eyes and hearts of the King and Kingdom; yea, and made them renowned throughout the world and to all posterity, in stirring them up to be eminently instrumental in the happy Restoration of His Majesty to his Royal Throne, the Parliament to their privileges, and our whole three kingdoms to their ancient laws, liberties, and government, without any battle or bloodshed, for which signal services his Majesty and the whole kingdom returned, not only their verbal, but real thanks. That this regiment, as it was the first of all the army who promoted his Majesty's glorious restitution to his Crown, so it hath this signal badge of honour now put upon them, to be the last regiment disbanded; and although they were ordered and declared to be disbanded in relation to the kingdom's pay, yet they were immediately to be advanced to his Majesty's service as an extraordinary Guard to his Royal person, whom God long preserve in health and happiness.

They all cried out, "God save King Charles the Second!" waving and throwing up their hats, displaying their ensigns, beating their drums, and discharging their muskets. They were then ordered to draw off to their respective colours, and then all the five companies were disbanded—laying down their arms in testimony of their disbandment, and taking them up again, as entertained by his Majesty in service.

The same ceremony took place with the Life Guard of Horse,* most of whom are since entertained by his Majesty for his Horse Guards.

It is uncertain whether the men formerly of Albemarle's Troop were not drafted indifferently into the King's Own Troop and into Albemarle's newly-constituted Troop.

Two days later, in Tothill Fields, Westminster, occurred

* These Life Guards' arrears of pay, for want of money to pay them off in the first instance, had increased from £5,000 to £8,12*s.* 1*d.*

the birthday of the Blues, when was mustered for the first time Lord Oxford's new Regiment of Horse.

Thus the Millenarian uprising, carried out by not more than sixty men, and utterly insignificant in itself, was nevertheless, in respect of its sequel, one of the most epoch-making events in English history. For it was the immediate cause of the creation of that permanent military force from which was afterwards to be developed the entire British Army.

APPENDIX

A VERY spirited and spicy account of these events is to be found in a London newspaper of the period, the *Mercurius Publicus*, dated January 3rd, 1660:—

VENNER RIOT.

This Morning—before they [the rioters] fell to their bloody work, they had a Sermon preached by Venner—heretofore a Wine-Cooper; who stirred them up to fight for King Jesus, assuring them that one should chase ten, and ten a thousand. And in their declaration they tell us “That their enemies,” which are all good men that love peace and authority, “should not be able to touch one hair of their heads”—though now they find both head and neck may be touched—“that they were cut out for this work,” etc. . . .

After this Sermon and Declaration—whereof many copies were found in one house, those bloody zelots prepare themselves for Execution this Twelf day at night—who can forget the day since twelf-day at night 1641 when this desperate faction drew down upon Whitehall, and forced his late Majesty of glorious memory to leave both parliament and city. In the interim a friend of their own—touched it seems in conscience—came to the most vigilant Sir Rich. Brown, L. Mayor of the City of London, and privately gave him notice of their design: After this came another for the same purpose—for how can they think that so much villainy should pass unrevealed, which requires so many hands and heads so scalding hot—whereupon his Lordship consulting more to the Public than his own safety adventured forth with only four halberdeers and 6 other persons with swords to give a timely alarme to the City, and suppress these wild rebels, before they grew too numerous and formed, though they had all armed themselves with Back Brest and Head-piece, in Coleman St at the meeting house,—that old nest of sedition—and several other places. This early appearance of the resolute Lord Mayor kept them from embodying, His Lordship chasing them from place to place till after 11 at night. About 12 of the Clock twixts 30 and 40 of these were met by two files of the trained Bands sent forth by the Lord Mayor; these bade the

Rebels stand, and the rebels asked the trained band whom they were for, who answered "For God and King Charles"; and the rebels replied "And we are for King Jesus"; at the same instant the rebels spake, they fired upon the citizens, who gave them the same reply, whereby two men were killed at which some retired, and the rebels suspecting or perceiving relief coming to the Trained Band—retreated towards Aldersgate, where having forced the watch at the gate they went to White-Cross St where being interrupted they killed the constable wounded the poor bell-man and several others there, as well as in other places where they passed but whither they fled or what became of them, we have no certainty. . . . By this time the Londoners were all alarmed and grew so numerous that they needed no assistance from Westminsters who could have lent them an army of Horse and Foot had there been occasion; the nobility and gentry all flocking in to attend H.R.H. the D. of York who with the Lord Gen. the D. of Albemarle were ready to mount upon the least notice from the Ld Mayor, who now had so dispersed the rebels that not one of them was to be found.

The next day the Ld Gen sent forth Col. Si Thomas Sandys with a Tp of Horse and 200 of H.G's (Dofel) own Reg of foot to scour Cane Wood (twixt Highgate and Hampstead) were these savage Rebels (as many as were left) were said to be together. Sir Thomas found this remnant lining a hedge nigh a gravel-pit where by night—the Moon not yet shining—himself and some of his men were more in danger of the pit than of the Rebels, who notwithstanding fired from the Hedge upon the Ld Generals Foot without doing any execution, having one soul-dier hurt. They had too long served in that excellent Regt to fire at such a distance, and therefore made swiftly up to the rebels, who after the first fire, fled into the wood, which with help of night gave them leave to creep away, so as but few of them were taken. Sir Thomas surrounded the wood and searched diligently the next morning but no more were to be found.

You would now conclude these Phanatick Rebels totally suppressed and yet this Wed morning (Jan 9) they are again in arms. One party was discovered in a lane beyond Leadenhall, were they made their first stand twixt five and six this morning. The Lord Mayor—though he had been in no bed of two nights before—yet was up and upon the Rebels before they could effect any part of their design. After some firing on both sides they made a second stand in Little Eastcheap, which they made with more vigour than before, and then retired to Londonstone where though their numbers were augmented they all dispersed.

This passed, the Lord Mayor came down from Wood St. to another party of Rebels; and these had been at His Lordship's House in Maiden Lane to surprize him in his bed, where they knew he had not slept in 2 nights before, saying aloud as they marched "Now for Brown" "Now for Brown," at that instant, his Lordship being up, and engaged

with the other party, they lost their design upon his Lordship, but were [?] by some of the Trained Bands and part of H.M's L. Gd. . . . H.R.H. the D of York hearing of the resistance of these rebellious phanatics came up into London with the D of Alb and E of Oxon, the E of Northampton, the Ld Fairfax and very many more peers and Noble gentlemen with part of the Life Gd and divers Officers of the army ready to serve H M and H.H. if there had been occasion.

CHAPTER III

THE actual History of the present Household Cavalry dates definitely from January 26th, 1661, when King Charles the Second established "His Majesties own Troope of Guards, His Highness Royall the Duke of Yorke his Troope of Guards, and His Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Troope of Guards." This order marks the original creation of the existing Life Guard.

Its establishment was thus constituted. The King's Troop had a Captain at £546 per annum, aided by an Adjutant at £127 12s. 6d.,* four Lieutenants at £274 each, a Cornet at £255, a Quartermaster at £164, a Chaplain at £121, a Surgeon, with one horse to carry his chest, at £146, four Corporals at £128 each, four Trumpeters at £91 each, a Kettle-drummer at £91, and 200 Private Gentlemen at £73 per man.

The other two Troops were in all respects similarly constituted to the first, except that they each had but one Lieutenant, and consisted of only 150 soldiers—an arrangement which with occasional variations continued till 1667, when all three troops alike numbered 200 gentlemen each.

The first officers to be appointed were the following,

* In 1679 was instituted the office of Adjutant common to the three Troops, to which William Oglethorpe was appointed on June 23rd, 1685.

Lord Gerard being in supreme command of the whole corps:—

1. HIS MAJESTY'S OWN LIFE GUARD (THE KING'S TROOP):

Charles, Lord Gerard of Brandon, Captain ;
 Major-General Randolph Egerton,
 Sir Thomas Sandys, Bart., } Lieutenants ;
 Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart.,
 Colonel Thomas Panton,
 Mr. Edward Stanley, brother to } Cornet ;
 the Earl of Derby,
 Colonel James Prodgiers, Quartermaster ;
 Colonel Francis Lovelace,
 Colonel Charles Scrimshaw,
 Colonel Francis Berkeley, } Corporals ;
 Colonel Edward Roscarrick,
 Dr. Matthew Smallwood, Chaplain ;
 Mr. Thomas Woodall, Surgeon ;
 Mr. George March, Adjutant.

2. HIS HIGHNESS ROYAL THE DUKE OF YORK'S LIFE GUARD (DUKE OF YORK'S TROOP):

Sir Charles Berkeley, Captain ;
 Robert Dongan, Lieutenant ;
 John Godolphin, Cornet ;
 Edward Barclay, Quartermaster ;
 Francis Bedlow,
 James Somervill, } Corporals ;
 Thomas Davenport,
 Thomas Stourton,
 John Robinson, Surgeon.

3. HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S TROOP OF HIS MAJESTY'S LIFE GUARD :

Sir Philip Howard, Captain ;
 Henry Monk, Lieutenant ;

Daniell Collingwood, Cornet ;
 Francis Watson, Quartermaster ;
 Sir Edward Fish,
 Mark Robinson,
 Christopher Bacon,
 William Upcot,
 Thomas Gumball, Chaplain ;
 John Troughtback, Surgeon.

} Corporals ;

On March 16th, 1666, a Marshal—for which post Colonel Steward Walker received a Commission—was added to the establishment, and ordered to be mustered with the First Troop of Life Guards:—“He is Marshal to all the horse, and hath of every prisoner his whole pay for his fee the first day, and three parts for the rest of the time.”*

Rank analogous to that enjoyed by modern non-commissioned officers was accorded to the private gentlemen who rode on the flanks of the troop. There is extant a note of the inveterate jobber Pepys, requesting Sir Philip Howard to enlist his brother-in-law, and “put him as right-hand man with other marks of respect.”

Special privileges and supreme precedence have always attached to the Household Cavalry. For many years after the Restoration, none but gentlemen of good birth and education were enlisted as troopers. The expression, “private gentlemen,” was officially applied to the Life Guards, who even in recent times were mustered under the term “Mr.” By royal warrant in 1666 every grade of officer in the Life Guards was entitled to rank far above his nominal position.† This apparently disproportionate

* “Estimate of the Establishment for a Marshal to the Horse Guards at 9s. a day, besides pay for a servant who is to be mounted in the Kings troop of Guards but without doing duty as one of the troop, £163 16s., from 16th March.”

† See CHAPTER IV., p. 37, where the warrant is cited. In 1684 the Lieutenants were in general estimation accounted Lieutenant-Colonels, and the Cornets regarded as Majors.

precedence was probably in the first instance given on account of the high military rank already held, as it happened, by those who received the earliest commissions in the corps. Thus, of the first four original Lieutenants of the Life Guards, one was a Colonel in the Army and another a Major-General. Even the Quartermaster was a Colonel, as also was each of the four Corporals, while the place of a private gentleman was coveted by ex-captains.

This unique position of the Life Guards serves to explain such a phrase as “enlisting a Captain.”

1661. Sir H. Carey certifies that Captain George Carey was enlisted and rides in the Life Guards under command of Lord Gerard.

Another important privilege relates to the constitution of Courts Martial convened to try an officer or soldier of the Life Guards. A regulation for the musters, May 5th, 1663, orders that no non-commission officer or private soldier of the Life Guards, after enrolment and being mustered, shall be dismissed or cashiered save by a court consisting of the commission officers of the three Troops of Life Guards.*

Besides the three English Troops of Life Guards, a Fourth Troop of Horse Guards was raised in Scotland on April 2nd, 1661. In the Parliament at Edinburgh on January 18th it had been agreed that a troop of Horse should be raised for guarding the Lord High Commissioner and Parliament, and to assist the executive “against disobedient persons.” Its title in Scotland was His Majesty’s Troop of Guards, and its Captain and Colonel was the first Earl of Newburgh. It was to consist

* “Noe man shall bee discontinued or put out of the Muster Roll of any of our Troopes of Guards but by a Court consisting of all ye Officers of the three troopes or the maior part of them, or by order from the Generall.”

of noblemen and gentlemen to the total number of 120. They were armed with carbine and sword. The Captain was paid one pound sterling a day, which included an allowance for two horses at two shillings each ; the Lieutenants, twelve shillings each, the horse allowance being the same ; the Cornet, eleven shillings, which also covered a like allowance for two horses ; the Quartermaster, eight shillings, including an allowance for one horse ; the Corporals, four shillings each ; the Surgeon and "mate," five shillings ; the Trumpeters, two-and-eighthpence each ; the Kettle-drummer, three shillings ; and the Soldiers half-a-crown apiece per diem. A second Scots troop, raised afterwards, enjoyed a very brief existence. As will be seen later, the Scots Life Guards, under the command of Montrose, fought at Bothwell Bridge in 1679 against the Covenanters.* In 1681, while James, Duke of York, was resident in Scotland as Lord Commissioner, they attended him with royal honours. They were employed against Argyle, and in 1688 were ordered to England, and under Lord Livingstone's command were quartered at Westminster on October 25th. Soon after James's abdication the Troop returned to Scotland. In 1702 there was raised in Edinburgh a Scots troop of Horse Grenadiers. On their coming south in 1709 the establishment and position of these two troops were assimilated in all respects to those of their English comrades.†

* In 1672 the Earl of Lauderdale writes to the Earl of Atholl to command 20 of the Horse Guard, with a discreet officer, to march with the landmen and seamen from Leith to Newcastle, and to endeavour to prevent any of them from running away, or any disorder on the march.

† See CHAPTER XXXIII., p. 313.

The origin of the Regiment proudly associated with the name of its first Colonel, Aubrey de Vere, twentieth Earl of Oxford, must now be detailed.

Very shortly after the Restoration, the King, glad of the opportunity to acquire some additional trustworthy troops, had adopted as his own Colonel Unton Crook's cavalry regiment, which, under the new title of "the Royal Regiment," was officered by a number of the King's personal friends and most devoted adherents,* for whom His Majesty was desirous of finding posts of command. The corps thus reformed was destined, however, to be strangled in its birth, for early in the December following, after an existence of less than six months, it was disbanded in its turn at Bath.

Only two months then elapsed before the Earl of Oxford's Regiment of Horse, to consist of eight troops,† was raised by the royal warrant of January 26th, 1661.‡ Twenty days later, on February 16th, 1661, in Tothill

* The *Mercurius Publicus* of July 26th, 1660, says: "We shall now show you how the Regiment of Horse that was Unton Crook's is disposed of: viz., Daniel O'Neale, of His Majesty's Bedchamber, Colonel of the Regiment; William Bassett, son of Sir Richard Bassett, Governor of Cardiff Castle, Captain-Lieutenant; Sir John Stevens, Major; Lord Mandeville, eldest son of the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, Captain of the Troop, late Captain Witham's; Lord Windsor, Captain; Nicholas Armorer, Captain; one of His Majesty's Esquires commands the Troop late Captain Gascoigne's; — Bartie, second son of the Earl of Lindsay, Captain of that which was Colonel Upcott's Troop."

† For a comparison of the Blues with the *Gendarmerie de France* see a note in CHAPTER XXXIX., p. 376.

‡ 1661, January 26th. E. Gower to Sir R. Leveson. "These four Lords were all with the King yesterday contesting for a troop in the Earl of Oxford's Regiment—my Lords Mandeville, Windsor, R. Butler and Falkland. The King answered one of them that, if he had a troop in this Regiment, he must not think to stay here to play at Hombre (the new game of cards now in fashion at Court), but to lie and quarter abroad in the country, there to attend his service." (*Hist. MSS., Duke of Sutherland.*)

fields—now represented by Vincent-square, where the Westminster scholars still play as they did of old—was held the Regiment's first muster. The promptitude with which a crack corps, with its full complement of officers and men, came into being was rendered possible only through the readiness of the men of the old regiment to enlist in the new. Of the officers it is evident that a large proportion of those who had served first under Unton Crook and then in the Royal Regiment, finally found their places in the muster roll of the corps ultimately known as the Royal Horse Guards (Blue).

Probably no regiment has ever been subjected to so many variations in its formal title. Starting under the name of its short-lived precursor as the Royal Regiment of Horse, it has been officially designated at various times as His Majesty's Regiment of Horse, the King's Regiment of Horse, the First Horse, the Horse, the First Regiment of Horse, the Regiment of Horse commanded by the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Oxford's Regiment (or Horse Regiment), the "Blew" Guards, the King's Regiment of Horse Guards, the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, His Majesty's Own Regiment of Horse Guards, the Oxford Blues,* the Blues, and finally the Royal Horse Guards (Blue). Its precedence over all other regiments save the Life Guards has of course never varied, but its right to rank on a par with the latter in respect of all their peculiar and original privileges was conferred in special recognition of its splendid services at a much later date. The Life Guards settled into their present form of two regiments in 1788, but thirty years more were even then to elapse before the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) could be said to enjoy in its entirety and complexity the august rank of Household Cavalry.

* There are still persons living who have heard this regiment commonly spoken of as the "Oxford Blues."

Although the royal warrant establishing Lord Oxford's Regiment of Horse does not accord to it the title of "Guards," this designation soon began to be applied to it. A warrant dated November 25th, 1661, relating to accoutrements for the regiment styles it "the King's Regiment of Horse Guards, under Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford." The usage only became common some years later. This distinguished corps from the first continuously enjoyed the special favour of, and was entrusted with special duties attaching it to, the Sovereign.

Of the eight troops of which it consisted the first was named "His Majesty's Own Troop." The regimental establishment was thus formed:—A Colonel at £218 per annum; a Major at £100; a Chaplain at £121;* a Quartermaster at £91; a Surgeon, with one horse to carry his chest, at £109.† There was no adjutant till 1684.†

His Majesty's Own Troop had a Captain at £255; a Lieutenant at £182; a Cornet at £163; a Quartermaster at £109; a Kettle-drummer at £54; three Corporals at £166; three Trumpeters at £145; and eighty soldiers at £45 per man.

The Colonel's and the other six troops were in all

* No chaplain is named as part of the original establishment, but on July 7th, 1687, a commission was granted to Robert Pocock, M.A., "to be Chaplain of the Earl of Oxford's horse regiment."

† In 1665 J. Mahuet, surgeon, petitions for "restoration" to his place as surgeon to the Earl of Oxford's Regiment, which he had "entered on commission, but is put out by the Earl, by procurement of another commission, through spending his own money to supply the men with medicines." (*Dom. S. P.*) As to medicaments, the Life Guards and the Blues were treated with peculiar favour under the Establishment List of 1680, by which the Crown made an allowance for this purpose of £8 per annum for each troop of 200 of the Life Guards, and of £12 per annum for the whole regiment of 8 troops of 50 each of the Blues; in all other regiments the amount being defrayed by stoppage from the soldiers' pay.

‡ See CHAPTERS VIII., p. 67, and XIV., pp. 135-6.

respects similarly constituted to the first, except that they each numbered only sixty soldiers, besides officers.*

The following are the names of the officers of Lord Oxford's Royal Regiment of Horse, at its first muster in Tothill Fields, Westminster, on February 16th, 1661:—

1. HIS MAJESTY'S OWN TROOP.

Daniel O'Neale, Captain ;
 William Basset, Lieutenant ;
 Peregrine Bertie, Cornet ;
 Robert Cooper, Quartermaster.

2. THE EARL OF OXFORD'S TROOP.

Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Colonel ;
 Thomas Armstrong, Captain-Lieutenant ;
 Edward Sheldon, Cornet ;
 William Montgomery, Quartermaster.

3. COLONEL SIR FRANCIS WYNDHAM'S TROOP.

Francis Wyndham, Major ;
 George Markham, Lieutenant ;
 Charles Wyndham, Cornet ;
 Francis Byam, Quartermaster.

4. LORD HAWLEY'S TROOP.

Francis Lord Hawley, Captain ;
 Sir Henry Jones, Lieutenant ;
 William Jenkyns, Cornet ;
 Edward Hanley, Quartermaster.

5. SIR CHARLES COMPTON'S TROOP.

Sir Charles Compton, Captain ;
 Francis Compton, Lieutenant ;
 Henry Compton, Cornet ;
 Flamock Colborne, Quartermaster.†

* After the Peace of Ryswick there was a reduction :—

1697. Eight Regiments in Ireland to be disbanded and 10 men out of every troop in Lord Oxford's Regt.

† 1664. Sir Fr. Compton to Secretary Williamson. Asks for a

6. COLONEL SIR EDWARD BRET'S TROOP.

Sir Edward Bret, Captain ;
John Arundel, Lieutenant ;
Henry Slingsby, Cornet ;
John Young, Quartermaster.

7. COLONEL SIR HENRY WROTH'S TROOP.

Sir Henry Wroth, Captain ;
Thomas Morley, Lieutenant ;
John Elvis, Cornet ;
Gyles Forman, Quartermaster.

8. COLONEL JOHN FRETCHVILLE'S * TROOP.

John Fretchville, Captain ;
Thomas Carnaby, Lieutenant ;
Ferdinando Littleton, Cornet ;
George Blackstone, Quartermaster.

Commission for John Manley to be Quartermaster to his troop in the Royal Regiment. (Commission issued as prayed : see p. 34, note.)

* The name is variously spelt Frecheville, Fretcheville, Fretchville, Fretzeville, Frescheville, Frescherville, Freschville, Freschfield, and Freshfield.

CHAPTER IV

THE origin and significance of the names borne by the various military grades may here, so far as is germane to our present purpose, be briefly described.

A COLONEL was the officer in active command of a regiment, at home or in the field. The name—as is shown by the old English “Coronel” and “Crownel,” as well as by the pronunciation, “Curnel”—is a French modification of the Spanish *coronel*. The Colonel used to have a troop or company of his own. A LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, originally the senior captain of the regiment, became the colonel’s deputy.

The title of MAJOR is an abbreviation of SERJEANT-MAJOR, the prefix having been dropped before 1660. The Major was to be the medium of communication between the Colonel and the regiment, performing duties now divided between the Adjutant and the Serjeant-Major.* From the first the Major of the Blues had a Troop, in this respect differing from a major in other horse regiments till 1698.

The officers of these three grades rank as regimental Field Officers, and, with the Adjutant, the Quartermaster, and the Surgeon, constitute the regimental Staff.

Of the junior Officers, also then divided into three grades, the CAPTAIN (Spanish *capitan*) bears the oldest of

* The position of the modern Serjeant-Major is held in the Household Cavalry by the Regimental Corporal-Major.

all military titles. The unit now commanded by him is a troop or company.

Of the subalterns, or officers below the grade of captain, the LIEUTENANT becomes on occasion the Captain's *locum tenens*. In the Blues there was a CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT (p. 418, n.).

The fifteenth century term CORNET in the cavalry, and the still older title ENSIGN in the infantry, both denote the duty of carrying the troop standards* or company colours. Cavalry troop standards were originally, and one of the regimental standards still is, a curtailed or horn-shaped form of broad pennant (Spanish *corneta*). In the Troops of the Life Guard alone was there a sub-grade of Cornet, termed a GUIDON.†

The ADJUTANT, for many years after the office was created, performed functions now committed to the Regimental Corporal Major, and the Adjutant appointed under the original warrant to the First Troop of Horse Guards, received even less pay than a Corporal. In general, his duties were to aid the Major, as may be gathered from his French title, *Aide-Majeure*.‡

Between these, the Commissioned Officers of a regiment,

* There were for Cavalry two sorts of Standards—the Standard (Cornet) and the Guidon, which gave their names to two grades of officers. The former was originally three feet square, but was shortened for convenience' sake. Several seventeenth century specimens still extant measure 32 in. by 24 in. In 1685 the Standards of the Life Guards measured 27 in. on the staff and 30 in. flying. The Guidon differed only in its form, being rounded and slit at the end. No regiment bore a Guidon in addition to the Standard excepting the Troops of the Life Guard. See CHAPTER XVII., p. 163.

† The designation of Cornet finally disappeared in 1871, when by royal warrant the rank of Sub-Lieutenant—afterwards Second Lieutenant—was substituted for it.

‡ So late as 1813 there is a letter from the Adjutant-General to the Colonel of the Blues to say that it is contrary to the custom of the Service for a Captain to be employed as Adjutant. (*W. O. Out. L., C.-in-C.*)

and the Private Gentlemen and Troopers, there was formerly the QUARTERMASTER, who in the Life Guards and the Blues from 1664 to 1667 held a commission,* and ranked as junior captain, his position in all other regiments being that of a warrant-officer. A regiment of horse had a quartermaster to each troop. In the reign of Charles the Second the office was often combined with that of Provost-Marshal.

The duties attached to the three grades of Non-Commissioned Officers were always much the same as they are now. The name SERJEANT (Latin *serviens*), in the military sense, as in the legal, originally denoted a position of subordination to one of superior rank. Like the Roman centurion, he is a man "under authority" though "having soldiers under" him. In the Household Cavalry to this day, as formerly in all regiments of horse, the grade of Serjeant is unknown, the corresponding title being Corporal of Horse.

The name CORPORAL (Italian *caporale*) means leader of his section. In the Household Cavalry the four Grades

* The position and functions of a Quartermaster are well illustrated by the following quotation:—"CH. to Our trusty and well-beloved Captain Manley, Greeting: We do hereby of these presents constitute and appoint you to be Quarter-Master to Sir F. Compton's troop, in our regiment of Horse Guards, commanded by our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, Aubrey, Earl of Oxford.

" You are carefully to discharge the duty of Quarter-Master by exercising the same troop, both Officers and Soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline, and we hereby command them to obey you as their Quarter-Master, and you are from time to time to observe such orders and commands as you shall receive from your Colonel, or other Superior Officer, according to your rules and Discipline of Wars. —Given, etc., 3rd May, 1664, by His Majesty's commands." (*Dom. S. P.*)

After a three years' trial the system was altered:—

1667, June 21st. Whitehall. Lord Arlington writes to Lord Fauconberg, stating that H.M. has made it a rule to give no more commissions to Quartermasters, that they may be observant to their captains; and also that he has forgotten to ask the King concerning Lieut. Littleton obeying his Lordship's orders, but remembers that H.M. directed all officers of standing troops to obey the Lord Lieutenant's orders whilst they are in his Lieutenantcy. (*Hist. MSS., Sir G. Wombwell.*)

of N.C.O.'s are those of LANCE-CORPORAL, CORPORAL, CORPORAL OF HORSE, and CORPORAL MAJOR.* Of these last one is appointed to each squadron, while others of this rank perform staff duties. Each of the three Regiments, as already stated, has a REGIMENTAL CORPORAL MAJOR, who is a warrant officer.†

The title Lance-Corporal is said to be derived from the Italian *lanspesade*, a horse-soldier who, having lost his steed, was affiliated to the infantry until he could replace it. He enjoyed higher pay than his fellows, was prone to give himself airs, and insisted on ranking and consorting with the Corporals.‡

A very important position was that assigned to the CHAPLAIN, who from the first held a military commission.§ The Articles of War of 1662 prescribed that "the Chaplains to the troops of Guards shall every day read the Common Prayers of the Church of England to the soldiers respectively under their charge, and preach to them as often as with convenience shall be thought fit; and every officer or soldier absent from Prayers shall for every absence lose a day's pay to His Majesty."

It is obvious that Charles the Second took thought for the spiritual welfare of his *corps d'élite*. The Articles issued for the abortive war against the French King in 1666 gave specific injunctions regarding the duty of Divine

* The Household Cavalry first had N.C.O.'s in 1756: *vide* CHAPTER XLIII., p. 428.

† The first Regimental Corporal Major was appointed in 1803: *vide* CHAPTER LVIII., p. 529.

‡ The early Corporals of Life Guards, styled Brigadiers, held commissions as eldest Lieutenants of Horse or youngest Captains, ranking next Guidons, with pay according. The Lance-Corporals (Sub-brigadiers) commanded as officers, but had no commissions, and their pay was one-fourth as much again as a private gentleman's. *Brigadier de cavalerie* in French means Corporal in the Cavalry.

§ A commission for James Gardiner, M.A., to be Chaplain to the King's Guard of Horse, was issued under the Duke of Monmouth.

worship :—“ That the service of Almighty God be not neglected, it is ordained that prayers shall be orderly read every day to each troop of Our Guards, and once every week, on each Sunday or holyday, a Sermon shall be preached, or some place of Scripture or Catechisme expounded to them. And every Chaplain that omits his duty herein, and provides not some Minister in orders to officiate for him, shall for the first offence forfeit half a week’s pay, for the second offence a week’s pay, and for the third be cashiered.”

This high standard of religious observance it was found difficult to maintain. The direction for Daily Service was not of long continuance. Still, the Articles of 1673 made mention of Divine Service not only on Sundays, but also on the Church’s festivals and fasts. As years rolled by, the chilling effects of Latitudinarian and Erastian laxity were only too evident. The status of the Chaplain grew to be less well-recognised. In the Statutory Articles of War of 1718 there is only a general direction for “all officers and soldiers to frequent diligently Divine Service in such places as shall be appointed for the Regiment”; but in every case regular attendance is still enjoined, and soldiers absenting themselves are fined, while officers are reprimanded by Court Martial.

The numerical strength of what would now be known as the Household Troops was in the year 1663 as follows :—

1. THE HORSE GUARDS :—	PRIVATES.
The King’s Troop	200
The Duke of York’s Troop .	150
The Duke of Albemarle’s	
Troop	150
	—
2. THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF HORSE	500

PRIVATEs.

3. THE KING'S REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS .	1,200
(under Russell)	
4. THE LORD GENERAL'S REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS	1,000
5. THE KING'S REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS .	1,200
(under Wentworth)	
Total (exclusive of Officers and N.C.O.'s)	<u>4,400</u>

In 1667 the strength of the Second and Third Troops of the Life Guard was brought up to that of the First—namely, 200 for each Troop.* The total of the three English Troops together was now 35 officers, 12 trumpeters, 3 kettle-drummers, and 600 private gentlemen. On September 26th, 1668, the number of the latter was reduced to 400, owing to the depletion of the Second and Third Troops by 100 men each. But in June, 1670, the corps was once more augmented by 200—of which the King's Troop absorbed 100 and the other two 50 apiece—to a total of 600 men.

The question of military precedence was definitely settled by a royal warrant dated September 12th, 1666, in the following terms :—

As to the Horse, that the three troops of Guards take place before all others. That the Captains take their rank as eldest Colonels of Horse, the Lieutenants as eldest Majors, and the Cornets as eldest Captains. [Dec. 1, 1675 : That the Guidons rank as youngest Captains of Horse.]

That the King's Regiment of Horse take place immediately after the Guards, and the Colonel of it to have precedence immediately after the Captains of the Guards, and before all other Colonels of Horse.

The weapons both of the Life Guards and of the Blues were a sword, two pistols, and a carbine, which—as also

* W. O. Class 26, No. 23. A farrier and a saddler were allowed for each of the Troops.

their horses—were provided by themselves. The sword, like that still carried by the Household Cavalry, was long and straight, but with a scabbard of black leather, and a swordbelt of buff, those of the officers being ornamented.

It has been thought that their carbines originally had a rifled bore,* the carbine-belt being worn over the left shoulder, and having a swivel-hook† attached to it. On its reverse side was a projecting horizontal bar of steel, having on it a sliding ring, and by passing the swivel-hook on to this ring, the trooper could sling his carbine loose at his right side. The carbine belts were profusely enriched with ornament. From the first the Life Guards carried fire-lock carbines.‡ The two pistols carried by each trooper were fourteen inches long in the barrel.

The uniform of the Life Guards at their first establishment included (1) a low-crowned broad-brimmed, pistol-

* In 1671 Albemarle speaks of a horseman's arms as including "a carbine, or a musquet barrel of the length of a carbine barrel, well stocked, with a snaphance—the which I hold to be much better than a carbine for service." *Carbine*: Gk. *καταβολή*, destruction; Lat. *cadubula*, a war engine; O. Fr. *calabra*; *calabrin*, arquebusier; *carabin*, musketeer. *Snaphans* (snap-cock): Dutch for flint-lock.

In 1680 the Life Guards had but eight rifled carbines per troop.

† "9th December, 1661. Warrant to Sir W. Compton, Master of Ordnance, to deliver 441 carbines for the King's Regiment of Horse Guards under the Earl of Oxford." These 441 carbines with swivel-belts are shown by another entry to have cost £661 1s. Compare the orders of February 4th, 1671, to exchange 53 unserviceable carbines of the Earl of Oxford's Regiment for new ones; and of September 10th, 1671, for providing new carbines throughout the regiment. Numerous like orders were made for issues to the Life Guards. For example, an order of February 13th, 1678 (*W. O. Records*) directs Sir T. Chicheley, Master of Ordnance, to "deliver to the Regiment of Horse Guards 126 carbines and suites of arms, to be delivered to Sir F. Compton."

‡ 1688, November 10. Royal order for "the issue forthwith out of our stores of ordnance under your charge twenty-five carbine firelocks to and for the use of our Second Troop of Horse Guards," commanded by George, Duke of Northumberland.

proof helmet adorned with a plume;* this headpiece or "pott" being sometimes brightly polished, and at other times painted black;† and apparently worn only on occasion, the men having hats as well; (2) a cuirass, or rather back and breast-pieces‡ of pistol-proof armour, which, like the pott, were sometimes black and sometimes bright; (3) a coat of scarlet—the old royal colour,§ which re-appeared at the Restoration—with rich gold-lace facings, the coat worn by the Blues differing only in the substitution of blue for scarlet;|| (4) a loose cloak, to which a small cape was attached—of red for the Life Guard, of blue for the Royal Regiment; (5) breeches of buff leather; (6) buff boots, soon changed for stiffer black jack-boots, the spurs being of the kind now called hunting spurs; (7) a sash, worn round the waist by privates as well as by officers, those of the latter being variously and elaborately fringed; (8) large gauntlet gloves of buff leather, those of the officers being fringed with lace;

* "April 10th, 1661. Order to Customs Officers to deliver free 206 plumes of feathers which have been transported from France for plumes for the Life Guard of horse at the Coronation." (*Dom. S. P.*)

† This is stated by Col. Clifford Walton. Mr. Sargeaunt, the Assistant Curator of the Royal United Service Museum, Whitehall, is of opinion that these head-pieces were not painted black while in use, but only when preserved as trophies or curiosities.

‡ November 25, 1661. Warrant to Colonel Legg, Lieutenant of Ordnance, to deliver 570 back, breast, and head pieces to Major Francis Wyndham for the King's Regiment of Horse Guards, under Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

October 10, 1662. Warrant for delivering 200 defensive arms, carbine-proof, to William Carr for the service of the Horse Guards under Lord Gerard.

§ A regiment often wore the colours of some territorial magnate who was its commander. The Duke of York's regiments wore the Stewart colours, red and yellow; the facings of the 11th Foot were tawny, the colour of the Duke of Beaufort; and in 1667 the soldiers of a regiment raised by Lord Chesterfield in ten days had their red coats lined with black, because the Earl was in mourning for his mother.

|| In 1685 the Life Guards had buff coats beside their scarlet coats.

(9) canes or staves.* The officers were further distinguished by a shoulder-knot or epaulette of ribbon, worn on the right side only.†

While drums were common to all regiments, trumpets were peculiar to the Cavalry. Every horse regiment had, besides its trumpeters, one kettle-drummer. Like dragoons, the mounted troops of Granadeers‡ attached at a subsequent period to the Life Guards had hautboys. Drummers and trumpeters wore the royal cypher embroidered on back and breast. As a rule, the rich and expensive coats and trumpet-banners of kettle-drummers and trumpeters were supplied by the officers. In the Blues, however, the trumpeter of the King's Troop was clothed entirely at the cost of His Majesty, who also contributed £1,000 a year towards the wardrobe of the trumpeters of the other seven troops of the regiment. In the case of the Life Guard, the King defrayed the whole cost of clothing the trumpeters, drummers, and hautboys. In 1678 the kettle-drummers and trumpeters and hautboys began to wear gorgeous uniforms of velvet, silver, and

* A royal order of April 30th, 1680, directs the Paymaster-General of Guards and Garrisons to pay to James Bird the sum of Two Pounds Seventeen Shillings for providing canes mentioned in particulars annexed under the hand of the Earl of Faversham, Colonel of the Second (afterwards Third) Troop of Life Guards.

† 1677, July 12th. Sir Ralph Verney to Edm. Verney:—"Grosveneur tells me you designe a Souldiers sute, w^{ch} noe man liveing would weare but you; the very Officers being soe weary of it, that except when they are on the Guard, & on Trayning Dayes, they themselves will not put it on. You may almost as well weare a Canonicall Coate, and thinke how many would Laugh at that, & soe they will at the Kings Livery. the Pensioners have another sort of sute and coate, but should either the Officers of the Guard weare such a one; Or the Pentioners weare that w^{ch} is woorne by the Officers of the Guard, they would Hisse at on another, & every body else would Hisse at them. These Habits are soe peculier, that noe other Souldier, though they have been comanders many yeares, will weare the same, nor any thing very like it."

‡ This is the original and correct spelling, and justifies the popular pronunciation of the word. See a note in CHAPTER XII., p. 117.

lace, with richly embroidered and trimmed banners for their instruments.

During James the Second's reign an order of 1685 prescribed white horses for the trumpeters of the Life Guard on State occasions. In 1692 the Second Troop of the Life Guard was ordered by its colonel to be entirely re-mounted on black horses.*

The old feudal fashion, under which the cavalry soldier brought his horse with him when he enlisted,† was retained for many years after the Restoration. Sometimes the King bought the horses and sold them to the troopers at an average price: in 1692 this was £15. In either case, the horse was the trooper's own to carry away on his discharge; on the other hand, the loss of his horse disqualified the man.‡ The disadvantages of the system outweighed its advantages, and in 1697 regulations were made by which the horses should become the property of the Crown.

Lord Wolseley has recorded his opinion that the clothing of the Household Cavalry at the earliest period of its

* A chaplain writes in September, 1692, that the Duke of Ormond's troop was coming to England through Ostend, and would be quartered at Northampton for two or three months, till "recruited all with black horses." (*Luttrell*.)

† A warrant of June 10th, 1670, for the addition of 100 Gentlemen to the 1st Troop of the Life Guard directs that recruits be accepted "that shall bring with them good horses and come well armed." Robert Millington writes to the officer in command of the squadron of the Duke of Berwick's [late Lord Oxford's] Regiment at Northampton:—[1688] "March 12.—The Major [Walter Littleton] wishes me to tell you that it is the Duke of Berwick's orders that all the cornets of your squadron are to provide their men with musterable horses and equipage to carry the colours, for the Duke will have no private soldier carry them. This is the order that I received, and that the rest may be sent from Northampton to each troop." [Rob^t. Millington, cornet in the Blues, Q.Mr. to Capt. Sandys's troop, 1. 7. 1685; lieut. and capt. in same regt. 1690.]

‡ 1665, December 25th. Petition of Philip, younger son of Sir T. Fetherstonhaugh, of Kirkoswald, for a horse so that he may once more

history presented an excellent combination of dignified richness with workmanlike utility. In later times the uniform, in common with that of the whole army, became less and less suitable as a fighting dress—a defect which perhaps culminated at the period of Waterloo. And although in recent years recourse has been had to a form of military attire specially adapted for active service, this result has only been secured by the entire divorce of the uniform meant for use from the uniform intended for show. The original equipment of the King's Life Guard may be said to represent a very laudable, and on the whole fairly successful, attempt to devise a military dress appropriate to both purposes.

serve in His Majesty's Guards. His father lost £10,000, and was beheaded. In 1662 he had received a horse and arms, and rode in Lord Oxford's regiment: his horse dying in Jersey he was "disbanded," and has had no employment since. [For the Jersey Expedition see CHAPTER XIV.]

In 1685 a certificate is given to two of the Blues of the disablement of their horses through no fault of the owners:—

July 30th, '85.

Thomas Harrison: John Short of the Kinges Troope in the Earl of Oxford Regiment: ther horses wounded (*sic*) & disabled.

WILL WINDE.

I doe Certifie that M^r Thomas Harrison & M^r John Shortt of the Kings Troop in the Earle of Oxfords Regiment had their horses Shott, & quite disabled in the West and are now past all hope of ever being fitt for the Kings Service, Given under my hand. (*Lord Montagu's Papers.*)

See also above under "Lance-Corporal," p. 35.

1666, April. Petition of Captain Arthur Campbell to the King for money to buy another horse in lieu of his own which is dead, as he must else lose his place in His Majesty's Guards. He pleads the services he rendered during the usurpation. (*Dom. S. P.*)

By a Court-martial at Tangier, August 14th, 1665, a private was sentenced to have his horse sold for the benefit of the orphans of his opponent in a duel.

APPENDIX

FROM "*Pallas Armata*: Of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War. By Sir James Turner, 1671," chap. xii., p. 235:—

Having spoke to the duties of a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign-bearer of a Foot Company, I have nothing to add to the duties of a Ritmaster, Lieutenant, and Cornet, but between the Quartermasters of Foot and Horse there is this difference, that the first hath no command, but the second hath, in other duties there is none. But I shall tell the Quartermasters of Horse, that they should have skill in castrametation, as much as the Foot Quartermasters in the Field, the first to the quartering of both men and horses. A Corporal of Horse should have experience, for he either assists the Lieutenant in placing and setting the Guards, or he doth it himself without his Lieutenant, he sets the sentinels and sees them relieved; and orders the Patrovis, which are Rounds. He is to ride in Rank, and if the Troop march not in breast, but in three several squadrons, then there is a corporal in the right hand of every squadron; but in absence of higher officers, Corporals lead Divisions, so do they those parties which are to command, if there be none to command above them.

When a troop is divided into three squadrons, they have not their denominations from the Corporals or Brigadeers, but the first is called the Captain's squadron, the second the Lieutenant's, the third the Cornet's, and if there be a fourth, it is called the Quartermaster's. When a troop marcheth, the Captain leads the first division, the Cornet with his Standard the Second, the Quartermaster leads the third, and the Lieutenant brings up: yet some will have the eldest Corporal to lead the last division, and the Quartermaster to bring up on the Lieutenant's left hand, for which I see very small reason, or rather none at all.

CHAPTER V

THE present Chapter is devoted to sketching briefly the careers of some of the original Officers of the Life Guards, many of whose names recur in the succeeding pages.

Captain CHARLES, FIRST BARON GERARD OF BRANDON, created Earl of Macclesfield in 1679, was the son of Sir Charles Gerard, of Halsall, Lancashire. He is believed to have been educated abroad, and on the outbreak of the Great Rebellion joined the King at Shrewsbury, bringing with him a troop of his own horse. He distinguished himself at Edgehill, where he commanded a brigade of infantry and was wounded—as indeed he was on more than one subsequent occasion—being at Rowton Heath carried off the field desperately hurt. He was noted for his tireless energy and splendid courage throughout the Civil War, gaining many victories when serving, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, under Prince Rupert in South Wales. After the death of King Charles the First, Lord Gerard went abroad, where he devoted himself to the service of King Charles the Second. In 1657, when at Brussels, he was instructed to raise a troop of Horse Guards, and was also dispatched to Amsterdam and Boulogne for the purpose of chartering ships. In the spring of 1660 he rejoined the King at Breda and accompanied him to England. After his retirement from the Life Guards he commanded the Hampshire and Isle of Wight Militia, and also a newly-raised regiment of horse. He was implicated in the treasonable designs of which

Monmouth was the leading promoter, although when Monmouth returned from abroad without the King's permission in 1679 Gerard was deputed by Charles "to tell him out of his great tenderness he gave him till to-night to begone." Gerard naturally incurred the disfavour of the Duke of York by protesting against the rejection of the Exclusion Bill in 1680. Six months after his accession King James the Second issued a proclamation for the Earl's arrest, and on his flight abroad passed sentence of outlawry against him. The sentence was reversed in 1689 by William the Third, who had cause to be grateful to Gerard for his share in bringing about the Revolution, although Gerard himself disclaimed any active personal part. He was granted several high offices, such as the lord-lieutenancy of Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, and North and South Wales. His death occurred in 1693, and he lies in the Exeter vault in Westminster Abbey. Gerard married a French lady, of whom little is known except that she incurred the displeasure of Charles the Second by gossiping to the Queen about Lady Castlemaine, and that she enjoyed on one occasion the unpleasant experience of being set upon in the City by a mob who mistook her for the Duchess of Portsmouth.

Lieutenant RANDOLPH EGERTON, of a Staffordshire family, had served as Major-General-of-Horse to Charles the First. In 1666 he raised one of the eight troops which were formed into a regiment of horse under the command of the Duke of Richmond and named the "Select Militia." In 1672 his commission in the same troop styles him "Lieut. and Lieut.-Col. of Our Own Troop of Guards." He died in 1681 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Lieutenant SIR THOMAS SANDYS, a Kentish baronet, was a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and became a close—but not very edifying—friend of the Duke of Monmouth.

Lieutenant SIR GILBERT GERARD, BART., a younger brother of Lord Gerard, to whose troop he was appointed on January 26th, 1661, was an ardent Royalist, but also a diligent student of his own interests. Among other modest requests he petitioned, in company with three other gentlemen, for a patent to discover all concealed lands and money which might rightfully belong to the King, their perquisite to be two-thirds of the profit. Shortly after he had obtained his commission, the King recommended him to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough for confirmation of the lease of Bickerton Manor and Refan Farm. The Gerards were perpetually busy with petitions. The same month the King heard a petition from the elder brother regarding a dispute between himself and the Earl of Salisbury as to the rangership of Enfield Chase.

Lieutenant THOMAS PANTON (ex-Colonel), a very shrewd business man and successful gambler, "doubled" his troop in the Life Guards with a company in the Foot Guards, and drew pay from both. He won in one night at cards enough money to give him £1,500 a year for life, after which he had such an aversion against all manner of games that he would never handle cards or dice again, but lived handsomely on his winnings till his death in 1685. He was the last proprietor of the gaming-house called "Piccadilly Hall." In 1664 he was already in possession of the land which still bears his name, and Sir Christopher Wren himself drew up a report on Panton's plans to erect a "fair street of good buildings," between the Haymarket and Hedge Lane. Panton Square, now covered by Arundell Street, was also his property.

Cornet EDWARD STANLEY was a son of the famous 7th Earl of Derby, whose Countess rendered herself equally famous by the defence of Latham House. The Countess of Derby wrote to her sister-in-law, the Duchesse de la Trémouille :—"The younger brother has obtained a

cornetcy in the King's Guards ; His Majesty did him the honour of assuring him that this was only a beginning, and I hope it may be so." (*The Lady of Latham* : De Witt.)

Corporal FRANCIS LOVELACE (ex-Colonel), born in 1618, was the second son of Sir Richard Lovelace, who was raised to the peerage by Charles the First in 1627. Francis Lovelace attended Charles the Second during his exile abroad, and after the Restoration was in special favour with the Duke of York, by whose influence he obtained, in 1668, the Governorship of New York and New Jersey. He instituted many excellent measures, but was much disliked for resisting all demands for popular representation, and was re-called in 1673 — ostensibly because of a pecuniary debt due to the Duke of York, but really because of his temporary surrender of New York to the Dutch. An inquiry into this matter was held at the Cockpit, but the result never became known, and Lovelace himself is believed to have died very shortly afterwards.

Corporal CHARLES SCRIMSHAW (ex-Colonel) was a cavalier who at the Restoration had already seen more than twenty years' service. In 1670 he was one of the band of forty Gentlemen Pensioners.

Corporal EDWARD ROSCARRICK (ex-Colonel), the younger son of John Roscarrick, of Crowan, Cornwall, enjoyed a very versatile military career. He served the King throughout the Rebellion, was at the battle of Worcester, and was twice taken prisoner by Cromwell. At the age of forty he was appointed to the Life Guards. Three years later is recorded his commission as Lieutenant of a Foot Company to be raised in Scilly, while in 1667 he is gazetted as Captain in the Admiral's regiment.

Captain SIR CHARLES BERKELEY, second son of Sir Charles Berkeley, of Bruton, Somersetshire, devoted himself to the service of the Duke of York, and served with him in the campaign in Flanders. He was knighted

the day after the Restoration, and was subsequently created Baron Berkeley, Viscount Fitzhardinge, and Earl of Falmouth, his English titles becoming extinct at his death. His influence over James was paramount, though not very beneficial. He was also held in high favour by the King, who among other offices appointed him privy purse. The Duke of York wrote to his brother : "But, sir, I must have your promise, if you will have my dear Charles from me, that if ever you have occasion for an army again I may have him with me, believing him to be the best commander of an army in the world." When the Duke announced his secret marriage to Anne Hyde Berkeley deliberately slandered the lady, alleging she had been his mistress. Being forced to retract his words, he excused himself on the ground that he thought the clumsy falsehood would be the best means of preventing an undesirable marriage from being acknowledged. In money matters Berkeley was generous to a fault, and used his Court influence quite as much on behalf of his friends as of himself. He was killed in the great sea fight with the Dutch in June, 1666, when standing quite close to the Duke of York, who, indeed, was bespattered with his blood and brains. The King wrote to the Duchesse d'Orléans : "I have had as great a losse as 'tis possible in a good frinde, poore C. Barckeley. It troubles me so much I hope you will excuse the shortnesse of this letter having received the neawes of it but two houres agoe."

Lieutenant RICHARD DOUGAN was the son of Sir John Dougan, of Castletown, co. Kildare, and brother to the first Earl of Limerick.

Cornet JOHN GODOLPHIN, son of Sir William Godolphin, was himself knighted shortly before his death in 1679. the King entertained a great personal liking for him, and his only daughter was a maid of honour to Queen Katharine.

Corporal FRANCIS BEDLOW was probably a member of a well-known Royalist family Bellot.

Captain SIR PHILIP HOWARD was the third son of Sir William Howard, of Naworth Castle, Cumberland, brother to the first Earl of Carlisle, and nephew to the Sir Philip Howard who was killed at Hopton Heath. Sir Philip, who in 1659 had been a captain in the Parliamentary troop of Life Guards, was knighted by Charles three days after the Restoration. He served as a volunteer at sea in the Dutch war five years later. Pepys describes him as "the finest gentleman I ever saw." He died in 1668, and lies in Westminster Abbey.

Lieutenant HENRY MONK had been sent by Henry Cromwell, "Lord Deputy of Ireland," on several missions to his illustrious relative in Scotland.

Cornet DANIEL COLLINGWOOD was governor of Holy Island and captain of a company of Foot there. He was still in the same troop of Life Guards when he died in 1681.

Quartermaster FRANCIS WATSON was an officer employed sometimes on special service. On his commission was endorsed "Copy of my commission left in my trunk when I went to Russia, 1663."

Corporal SIR EDWARD FISH is mentioned as a Bedfordshire Knight.

The Rev. THOMAS GUMBALL (Chaplain), the faithful friend, constant companion, and excellent biographer of General Monk, first Duke of Albemarle, was present at the death-bed of his master, whom he survived six years.

JOHN TROUGHTBACK (Surgeon), who was appointed Surgeon to the King in 1660, had formerly served in Lambert's army, but in 1659 joined Monk in Scotland. He married in 1665 the widow of Sir Christopher Wray of Glentworth, and in 1667 his military services were rewarded with a pension of £200 a year.

CHAPTER VI

IN the present Chapter the careers narrated are those of some of the first Officers of the Blues.

Colonel AUBREY DE VERE, 20th Earl of Oxford, was only five years old when his father was killed in 1632 at the siege of Maastricht. His mother was Beatrice de Banck, daughter of Sjierck Hemmemma, of Nufen in Friesland, where, by order of the Crown, the young Earl was educated. He served in the regiment of English Foot in the Dutch service until the Peace of Westphalia. He dabbled in politics at the early age of 15, his name being attached to two protests in the House of Lords in 1641 and 1642. He appears to have returned to England before 1650, and in 1651 Parliament sequestered his estates. Three years later he was committed to the Tower on the charge of conspiring against Oliver Cromwell, but was released without trial—only, however, to be re-arrested five years later as implicated in Sir George Booth's rising, and as exercising loyalist influence over the Oxford scholars. Again, however, he was discharged on a sort of informal *parole* to live peaceably. Lord Oxford was one of the six Peers to present a petition to Charles the Second urging his immediate return to England, and when that monarch acceded to his people's demand for his presence, he brought Oxford back with him, and conferred upon him—among other honours—the Garter and the Lord Lieutenancy of Essex. Throughout Charles's reign Oxford remained in high



The Earl of Oxford.
From a picture the property of the Officers of the Royal Horse Guards

favour, devoting more time to his Regiment and his official duties than to functions and entertainments at Court. Lord Macaulay alludes to him as "a man of loose morals, but of inoffensive temper and courtly manners." Although Oxford's life was by no means irreproachable, his irregularities were those of his age, and such improbable stories as that of his pretended marriage with an actress, and of a trumpeter and kettle-drummer of the Blues having acted as parson and clerk, must not be lightly accepted. His stout resistance to King James's preposterous demands on the Lords Lieutenant is wholly to his credit. Oxford threw in his lot with William and Mary, and served them and their successor loyally, if not with the same enthusiastic devotion as he had exhibited towards his former masters. He married twice, but left no male issue, and at his death his ancient earldom became extinct. Lord Oxford had three daughters, of whom two died unmarried, while the third became the wife of the first Duke of St. Albans. Their third son was created Baron Vere, and this Barony reverted to the Dukes of St. Albans, who thus quarter the arms of De Vere.

Noble* observes that, "handsome, graceful and elegant, [Lord Oxford] shone more in the palace than elsewhere, for he had no prominent features in his character, though in his vigour he bid fair to have rivalled some of his heroic ancestors in spirit, for when Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, with a presumption peculiar to him, told Oxford, whom he suspected of being a favourer of some motions against him in Parliament, that 'he would rely no longer on his friendship, nor should he expect any farther friendship from him; but on the contrary, he would be for ever his enemy, and do him all the mischief he could,' the Earl replied 'that he neither cared for his friendship nor feared his hatred.'

* *Biographical Hist. of Eng.*, i. 54.

Oxford, who is supposed never to have injured the Duke, became one of Buckingham's most implacable enemies, which much contributed to his subsequent unpopularity, and would, had he not fallen by Felton's hand, have ended in his ruin."

Cornet PEREGRINE BERTIE was the second son of that Montagu, Earl of Lindsey, who surrendered himself prisoner at Edgehill in order to attend to his dying father, when that gallant officer had received a mortal wound on the battlefield.

Captain-Lieut. SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG, son of a private soldier in an English regiment serving in Holland, was one of those unfortunate people who are often described as more sinned against than sinning.* Armstrong was punished severely for offences which under other conditions might have ranked as deeds of valour. He was employed by Lord Oxford in 1655 to carry messages and money to the King in exile at Brussels, and was consequently locked up by Cromwell. He recalled this circumstance to the King's memory in a dignified appeal which he made a few days before he was executed — without trial — at Tyburn in 1684. He was given a commission as Captain-Lieutenant in Lord Oxford's own troop, but his regimental service was not long. His subsequent intimacy with Monmouth led him politically and morally astray. Armstrong's experience in the regiment was shamefully abused by Monmouth and Grey, who persuaded him to take advantage of it in order to try and corrupt his former friends and comrades.

Major SIR FRANCIS and Cornet CHARLES WYNDHAM were the sons of a Somersetshire Baronet, who was celebrated not only for his gallant defence of Dunster

* Lord Ailesbury, Monmouth's constant champion (*Memoirs*, p. 72), terms Armstrong a "lewd and beggarly fellow of no religion or morals," and "a lewd bully and gamester."

Castle but also for his having effectually aided the escape of Charles the Second after the battle of Worcester.

Captain FRANCIS, LORD HAWLEY, a Somersetshire Knight, and one of the most dashing of Prince Rupert's cavalry officers, had been created an Irish baron in 1646. At the Restoration he was appointed to the command of the regiment which had been Hacker's.

Lieutenant SIR HENRY JONES, having served under Lord Oxford in a regiment of horse which was disbanded as soon as organised, was promoted in 1665 to the captaincy vacated by Sir Thomas William Blakiston, Knight and Baronet, of Gilside, Durham, who had been gazetted only the year before. Sir Henry subsequently took service in a non-regimental troop, and was killed at the siege of Maastricht in 1673, when in command of a regiment of horse.

That splendid old Royalist, Spencer, second Earl of Northampton, was one of the nine Peers impeached by Parliament in 1642. He laid down his life the following year at Hopton Heath, scornfully refusing to surrender to "base rogues and rebels." His six sons were as devoted as himself to the cause of their King. Of these, three received commissions in the Royal Regiment.

The second son, Captain SIR CHARLES COMPTON, appointed to the command of a troop, was the hero of the surprise of Beeston Castle in Cheshire, which he effected with the help of six men in disguise, under pretence of bringing in sorely-needed provisions. He also made a desperate attempt in 1644 to surprise Compton House in Warwickshire, which Parliament had confiscated and garrisoned. He got possession of the outworks, crossed the drawbridge, and took thirty prisoners; but being insufficiently supported he was eventually obliged to withdraw. For this and countless other acts of gallantry during the civil war, he was

naturally high in his Sovereign's favour. Unfortunately his gallant life was cut short by a fatal fall from his horse in the autumn after the Blues were mustered.

Lieutenant SIR FRANCIS COMPTON, the fifth son, was promoted immediately after his brother's death. He, too, had proved his mettle during the civil war, and was destined to continue soldiering for many years to come. As will be seen, he played a distinguished part at Sedge-moor and was promoted General. Nor was his courage lacking in other respects, for in 1699—when he was seventy years old—he married a young lady, Miss Rowe, some fifty-three years his junior! The sixth son, Cornet HENRY COMPTON, served for only a few months, when he took orders, and subsequently became Bishop of London; but his military training always clung to him, and among other more serious complaints James the Second peevishly protested that he "spoke more like a Colonel than a Bishop."

SIR HENRY WROTH lived at Enfield in Middlesex. His name occurs in connection with his kindness to Colonel Hutchinson, a State prisoner.

Cornet HENRY SLINGSBY, who besides his military duties held the post of Gentleman-of-the-Bedchamber to Charles the Second, was the second son of that sturdy Royalist, Sir Henry Slingsby, who after two years' imprisonment was put to death on Tower Hill in 1658, being almost the last to sacrifice life to loyalty under Oliver Cromwell.

JOHN FRETCHVILLE was raised to the Peerage in 1664 in acknowledgment of his signal services to the King's cause in the Civil War.

THOMAS CARNABY, described on his memorial tablet as "Colonel Sir Thomas Carnaby," is believed to have been the Captain-Lieutenant of that name who was taken prisoner at Naseby. But his origin is almost as mysterious as his end in 1666, when, for no assigned reason, he was



Sir Charles Compton.

*Sir Charles Compton,
2nd Earl of Northampton.
Appointed Bishop of London.
Son of the 1st Earl of Northampton, Officer in the 5th Dragoons 1667.*



Sir Henry Compton.

*Sir Henry Compton,
1st Earl of Northampton.
Appointed Bishop of London.
Son of the 2nd Earl of Northampton, Officer in the 5th Dragoons 1667.*



Sir Francis Compton.

“suddenly stabbed by one Harland” in York.* His lieutenancy was then conferred on his Cornet, Ferdinando Littleton, fifth son of Sir Thomas Lyttleton.

GEORGE BLACKSTONE, brother of the above-mentioned Sir Thomas William Blakiston, was no doubt fired by the enthusiasm of his younger brother to join the regiment.

* See a note in CHAPTER VIII., p. 72.

CHAPTER VII

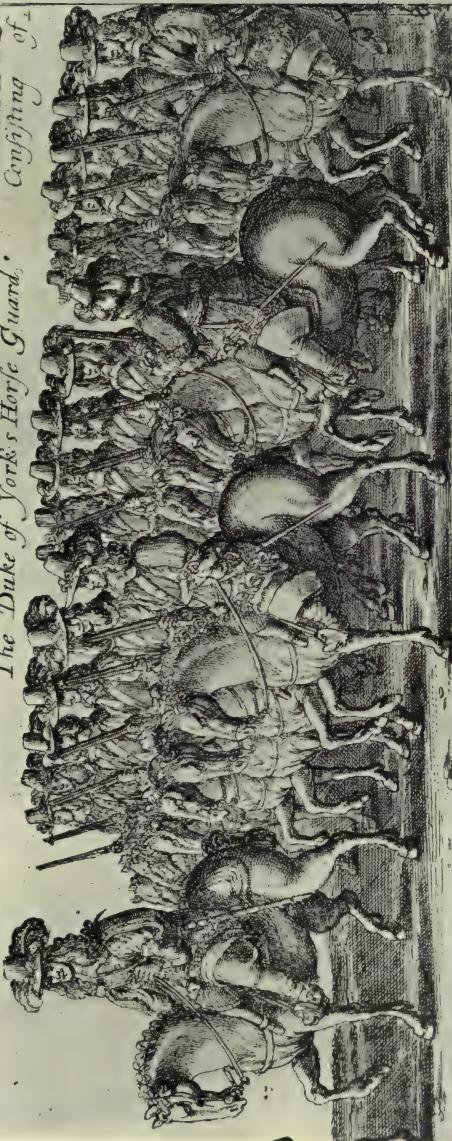
THE Coronation of King Charles the Second took place on the Feast of St. George, Patron of England, Tuesday, April 23rd, 1661, and was solemnised with a sumptuous splendour hitherto unheard of, and never since surpassed, save probably at the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh. It was of course the first occasion on which the newly-constituted Life Guard had appeared at a great State function. Every detail of the attendant ceremonial was submitted for the King's personal approval, and, as will be seen from the proclamation here reproduced, the important part taken in it by his Guards was specially assigned to them by His Majesty himself. On the Saturday preceding the King's sacring, April 20th, a royal proclamation was issued* "in order to the Coronation upon Teusday following, the preparation unto which great solemnityes hardly afforded rest unto many, the next day being Sunday" :—

CH. R.

In regard the Tower of London is not of capacity to receive the necessary attendants and Horses of all persons designed to ride in that proceeding; His Ma^{tie}. Doth hereby declare that no person whatever but the Nobility, privy Councillors, the Gentlemen of their Horse and their Servants in Liveryes p'sume to come into the Tower that day, that all other persons doe (with their Servants and Horses) stay upon Tower Hill, where they are to bee by 8 ock. of the morning. Where they shall be disposed by His Maj. officers of Arms in such manner as they may be most conveniently ranked, and proceed according to their

* From the original MS. of Sir E. Walker, Kt., then Garter King-at-Arms.

ITY OF LONDON TOWARDS HIS CORONATION
The Duke of York's Horse Guard.
Conjuring of



THE RELATION OF HIS MAJESTIE'S ENTERTAINMENT PASSING THROUGH THE CITY OF LONDON TO HIS CORONATION.
From a print in a book by John Ogilby in the British Museum.

degrees : That, for p'vention of disorder, no person whatever doe that day ride upon any unruly or striking Horse, and that because the Multitude of persons that are to ride in that Royal proceeding may not hinder each other, it is His Maj. further Pleasure and command that the Duke of Yorke's Horse Guards, who are to have the Van in that proceeding, bee drawne up early in the Morning in the Crutchet Fryers ready to march when they shall be directed, and that His Maj. Horse Guards bee also drawne up in Tower Street or in the Minories, and that the D. of Albemarle's bee drawne up in the Street without Algate ; both which are in order to bring up the Reare. To all which command His Maj. expects due obedience, and that all persons without dispute shall ride in that proceeding according as they shall be ranked by His Ma^{ties}. officers of Armes.

19th April, 1661.

The first stage in the Coronation ceremonies was marked by the King's journey by water from Whitehall to the Tower : "Upon Monday early His Maj. with the Duke of Yorke and many of the Nobility came in his Royall Barge to the Tower, being there by seaven ock. in the morning." The Life Guard duly discharged the duties assigned to it in Tuesday's procession through the City to Westminster. The King, we are told,

reposed and dined early at the Lieut. Sir J. Robinson's lodgings, for by 9 oc'k all persons that were to ride in the proceeding, being ranked, proceeded before His Maj. out of the Tower. The magnificence of which proceeding, for the richnesse and beauty of the Habitts of His Ma. and the Nobility with their Horses and furniture being so great as no age hath seen the like in this or any other Kingdome. His Ma. had 24 Footmen, the D. of Yorke 20, every Duke 12, every Marquis 10, every Earle 8, every Viscount 6 and every Baron 4, besides every of them had a Gentleman of his Horse, and Pages in proportion going on foote all in extraordinary rich Liveryes. Upon Tower Hill the King's Horse Guard, all well mounted, having Buffe coates, with white armour, their Horses furnished with Hooses (being a short ffoot cloth) with red Scarfes and Plumes of Red and White ffeathers, commanded by the gallant Lord Charles Gerard of Brandon, fell into the Reare, and at Algate, His Grace the Duke of Albemarle's Guard, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, Brother to the Earle of Carlisle, fell in to the Reare of them, and last of all a Troope of Voluntier Horse, commanded by Sir John Robinson, Lt. of the Tower. The van of all was led by the Guards of His Royal Highnesse, the Duke of Yorke, commanded by S. Charles Berkeley, all having black armour, red, white and black ffeathers, Red Scarfes with belts of His Highness's livery.

Another contemporary authority, Ogilby, represents the Duke of York's Troop as riding in ranks of six, preceded by their kettle-drums and trumpets.

King Charles's Coronation day was duly celebrated at Edinburgh, where the Lord High Commissioner and chief officers of State, escorted by the King's Troop of the Scots Life Guard in gala uniforms, under the command of Mr. Murray, brother of the Earl of Athole, proceeded from Holyrood Palace to the Parliament House, where they were regaled with a solemn Presbyterian preaching. This festival exercise over, they were happily free to return to the Palace, where a banquet was served and the King's good health loyally toasted.

The duties discharged by the King's Guards have at no time been rigidly restricted to personal attendance on their Sovereign. As early as 1662 they even acted as excise officers, when a detachment was sent to Winchcombe in Gloucestershire to destroy a crop of illicitly grown tobacco!* Later, in 1671, they began to be entrusted—as the Blues had already been†—with the duty of

* "Whereas we have been informed that there are divers persons in Winchcombe who take the liberty and boldness to plant, sett and sowe Tobacco, you are to aid the Surveyor in plucking upp all Tobacco sett or sowne." (W. O. Class 26, No. 3.)

† The following are taken from Lord Montagu's papers:—[1668.] "Your Lordship is to appoint an Officer with twelve of His Majesty's owne Troope under your Lordships Command for whom you will be answerable to marche to Lewis in Sussexs soe as to bee there on Tuesday the first of September next & from thence to convoie to London His Majesty's treasure which shall bee then in a readines under the charge of Mr Charles Goodwin Conductor of the Carriages whose orders the said Officer & party of Horse are to observe untill the said Mr Goodwin shall safely lodge the said Treasure at London. And then (& not before) the said Officer & Party of Horse are to returne back to their quarters. And all Constables whom it may

convoying specie from the Pay Office in London to Portsmouth or elsewhere—a function they continued to

concern are hereby required to bee assisting to the Officer for the quartering of the said party of Horse in Innes, victualing houses, & alehouses upon their marche to Lewis, from thence to London, & back againe to their quarters, and the Officer is to bee careful that the soldiers carry themselves Civilly, and paye for what they shall receive from their landlords.

“ Given under my hand at the Cockpitt 17 July 1668.

“ ALBERMARLE.

“ To the right honourable Francis Lord Hawley.

Or in his absence to the Officer in Chiefe commanding his Majesty’s own Troope of horse under his Lordships Command at Chelmsford or Ingerstone.”

(*Hist. MSS. Ld. Montagu.*)

[1672.]

“ SIR.

“ By Command of his majesty I send you the inclosed order for sending a party of tenn Troopers (insted of the twenty troopers appointed by his Majestie’s former order dated this day) with an Officer to Lewis I desire you would please to advertise mee by the next post of your receipt heereof & remaine

“ Your humble servant

“ MATTHEW LOCK.

“ 24 January, 1671 ” [*i.e.* 1672].

[Endorsed] “ To the Officer in Chiefe Commanding the Lord Hawleys Troope at Canterbury these.

“ For His Maj^{ties} speciall service

“ Matthew Lock

“ Canterbury.

“ To Mathew Lock Esq

“ at

“ His House inn the

“ oulde Pall Mall.”

[1673.]

“ HONOURED SIR

“ The Guard you provided has safely Conducted the money to the Downes for which I returne you my hearty thancks and remaine

“ Honored Sir

“ Your most humble Servint

“ S. CHUSEMAN.

“ Dec. 21st, 1673

“ I have requested the Corporall to lett me have two men to

discharge till 1810. In the absence of a civil force they were frequently charged—as were the Blues likewise—with the safe custody of political prisoners, and were made responsible for the preservation of public order.*

On September 30th, 1661, the Duke of York, who shrewdly suspected that there was trouble ahead, sent his Troop, together with some Foot-guards, to Tower Hill on the occasion of the King's reception of the Swedish Ambassador, who was to disembark at the Tower Wharf. The Ambassadors of France and Spain were to land there also, and the carriages sent to convey the three distinguished foreign diplomats were drawn up near the wharf at an early hour to await their arrival. The French Ambassador's coach, in which was his son the Marquis d'Estrades, with several of his gentlemen, was attended by a retinue of about one hundred and fifty persons, of whom fifty were goe with the Commissioner & some money to Dover which he has granted me.

“S. C.”

(*Ld. Montagu's Unpublished Papers.*)

There are various newspaper extracts to like effect:—1681, March 31, London. “Yesterday £12,000 was carried through the city being guarded by one of the Lord of Oxford's troops to be conveyed to Portsmouth for paying off the Dartmouth Frigate.”

1684, September. 10 troopes of Blues to escort treasure from Treasury Office, Broad Street to Portsmouth.

1696, October. The Blues escort £20,000 to pay the squadron at Portsmouth about to sail under Sir Cloudesly Shovel.

1707, July. “This morning the remainder of the equivalent money was sent for Scotland in 10 carriages each guarded by 8 horse of the Duke of Northumberland's Regt.”

* 1662, January. From *Mercurius Redivivus* :—“In the City of Coventry there being two troopes of Horse belonging to the Earle of Oxfords Regiment the Citizens being very churlish to them and they enquiring into the distemper found a feaver beginning to take root but the Commander in Cheife of that party commanded that all the chaines that belonged to the high street which was eight chaines in number and the rest of the other chaines that belonged elsewhere in the city, the next night they raised the post and portculises of each gate to be taken downe which was accordingly done and on the 13th day of this month 3 Commanders that had served the Long Parliament were brought up to London prisoners out of Coventry.” One of these was a Major Beak.

horsemen armed with pistols—some, indeed, with carbines and other larger firearms. The coach of the Spanish Ambassador, the Baron de Batteville, with his chaplain and others, was guarded by about forty servants. At 3 o'clock the envoys landed, the King of Sweden's representative, Count Brahé, being accorded the place of honour in the King's own coach, which having moved on, there ensued a fierce struggle for second place between French and Spaniards. The French coach from the start made the running, when the Spaniards, in a fashion the reverse of sportsmanlike, first frightened the French horses by shouting, and then hamstrung two of their number. A *mélée* ensued with swords and pistols, several persons being killed, and others wounded. Meanwhile the Life Guards, having received orders to maintain a strict neutrality, scrupulously left the alien combatants to fight it out amongst themselves, and abandoned their attitude of masterly inaction only to keep the ring clear from the interference of the bystanders, who, true to one of the most venerable and cherished of British traditions of hospitality, had promptly begun to heave half-bricks at the foreigner.* The French, thus handicapped, were by this time hopelessly out of the race. Their chariot finished gamely, however, drawn by its two surviving steeds; though the interval separating victor and vanquished was timed at half an hour.

In 1662 took place the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal,† daughter of that Dom João of

* "The Duke of York's Guards declared they would fall on that man without respect of person or country who should offer to revive the quarrel any further." Evelyn says that the care of Sir Charles Berkeley and the officers "was so eminent and particular that they permitted not a man of the spectators with so much as a switch in his hand whom they did not chastize severely."

† The King, before his marriage, engaged to assist Portugal against Spain with 3,000 Foot and 1,000 Horse (*Rapin*, xi. 233). See

Braganza in whose person the Portuguese monarchy had regained its ancient independence. The princess, by way of dowry, brought to the British Crown Tangier* and Bombay. She landed at Portsmouth on May 14th, but it was not before the night of the 19th that her future spouse, obviously in no great hurry to meet his bride-elect, left Whitehall. Starting at nine o'clock in the Earl of Northumberland's coach, and escorted by the First Troop of his Life Guards, Charles reached Kingston after an hour's journey, the escort being then relieved by a detachment of the Second Troop. The King having changed into the Earl of Chesterfield's coach, another rapid trot brought the party to Guildford in a couple of hours. Such travelling, with bad roads, must have been heavy work for men and horses—to say nothing of the occupants of the coach. The King slept at Guildford, and the next day, escorted by reliefs posted along the road, resumed his journey to Portsmouth, whither he had already been preceded by the major part of two Troops of Life Guards. The marriage was solemnised on the 21st. It is recorded by the *Mercurius Publicus*, the somewhat flamboyant prototype of the modern "society" journal, that on September 27th, 1662:—

His Majesties Guards, both horse and foot, were drawn up in Hyde Park. It was a very noble sight at all capacities, and, with reverence be it spoken, worthy those Royal Spectators who purposely came to

CHAPTER X., p. 90, for mention of officers returned from Portugal and received into the Oxford Regiment.

* The British occupation of Tangier, which terminated in 1683, perhaps supplies an explanation of the following advertisement in the *London Gazette* of March 23rd, 1685:—"A tawny more with short bushy hair, very well shaped, in a grey livery lined with yellow, about 17 or 18 years of age, with a silver collar about his neck with these directions—'Captain George Hastings boy, Brigadier in the Kings Horse Guards.' Whoever will bring him to the 'Sugar Loaf' in Pall Mall shall have 40s. reward."

behold it, for his Sacred Majesty, the Queen, the Queen-Mother, the Duke and Dutchess of York with many of the nobility, were all present. The horse and foot were in such exquisite order, that 'tis not easie to imagine anything so exact; which is the more credible, if you consider that there were but few of that great body who had not formerly been Commanders, and so more fit to be guard to the person of the most excellent King in the World.

This noble and novel military display proved so fascinating both to Prince and populace that the performance was repeated in July of the following year, with the additional attraction of the presence of the greater part of the Royal Regiment of Horse. The occasion was further utilised politically for the particular benefit and behoof of the French Ambassador. An agreeable feature was the appearance of the veteran Earl of Cleveland, who, "trailing a pike," marched on the flank of a company under the command of his own son, Lord Wentworth.

In the following August the weakness of the Queen's health caused the removal of the Court for a fortnight's stay at Bath. The King's Troop of Guards with four companies of the Foot Guards was detailed as escort. Their Majesties, leaving London on August 26th, returned to Whitehall on October 21st, having on the way back been entertained at Newbury by Sir Thomas Doleman, at Marlborough by Lord Seymour, at Longleat by Sir James Thynne, at Badminton by the Marquess of Worcester, at Cornbury by the Lord Chancellor, and at Oxford—where they remained a week—by the University. During the royal stay at Bath, a detachment of his own Troop escorted the Duke of York to Portsmouth.

The custom, maintained to this day, of employing the Household Cavalry within the precincts of the royal palaces dates from the occasion of the first Court ball, which was given by the Sovereign on February 22nd, 1664.

CHAPTER VIII

THE Life Guards, though their functions partook so largely of a ceremonial character, were at times busily employed in London in the task of overawing the sinister agents of still-smouldering treason. The King in his speech at the opening of Parliament on March 21st, 1664, made mention of "the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom." The republicans had for a long while previously been secretly at work,* not only to overthrow

* 1662, December 15th. At the examination of John Baker, "one of Oliver's haberdiers," in presence of the King, he reported that "Smith and Kentish, formerly of Olivers Horse Guards, now of the Kings, said they would be willing to give entrance to enemies to destroy the King." "William Sharpe of Soham, Cambridge, sold some goods to buy a horse—enquired what strength the King had to guard him and heard only 3 or 4 troops. He said, 'We shall do well enough with them then, and we shall fall upon you in London where we have plenty of friends, as also in the West.'" (*Dom. S. P.*)

The following items (1662—1670) show the persistency of the republican agitation:—

1662. "April. Coll John Caxstead, Miles Corbett, & Colonel John Oakey, were escorted to Tyburn by a party of Life Guards under Sir Phillip Howard." They eat oranges on the way and "som orang piel."

1662, October 10th. Information of Lieutenant Smith that "Robert Walley, a brewer, is a great promoter of designs, and said the party were to rendezvous at Shoreditch and Mile End. He said he was to have a company and that he was ready with horse and arms to surprise the out-guard when the King and Queen came from Hampton Court." Information by Captain Dales, now in the Life Guards, that "Walley is treacherous, and refuses to acknowledge the Government." (*Dom. S. P.*)

1663, February. Colonel Thomas Culpeper has arrested 70 persons meeting near Canterbury. Sent to Ashford for preacher. [Culpeper was an active military organiser:—

"1662. December 26. Col. Tho^o Culpeper to Secretary Bennet.

the Government, but to take the life of the King, their other intended victims being the Dukes of York and Albemarle. One of these conspirators cynically confessed his design. The presence of the Life Guard in London had an excellent moral effect as a deterrent of Roundhead disaffection.

Returns thanks for the great favour of his appointment as Deputy Lieutenant. Has presented the Lord Treasurer with 100 volunteer horse, drawn together about the time of the Quaker rebellion, but chiefly enlisted in 1659." (Dom. S. P.)

Even the Regiment of so devoted a loyalist as Aubrey de Vere was not immune from mischievous gossip. Sir E. Bagot writes to a friend that "several of Lord Oxford's Troop who pass for old Cavaliers are dangerous persons for carrying on designs." An even wilder allegation was current that many of the Life Guards were implicated in the plot for a rising to take place in London on October 12th, 1663, while another statement, made in January of the same year, was that the King had turned Papist with all his Life Guard! As far back as 1660 note had been taken of the "names of fourteen persons in Sir Ph. Howards troop of Guards who were in Cromwell's service." A later entry confirms this:—

"1662. June 4. There are many disaffected persons in Ireland, they boast 20,000 men of whom the heads are Sir Brice Corkran, Col. Duckerfield Zanchy and others. Some formerly in Cromwell's Life Guards are now in the Guards under Sir Ph Howard."

"1665. 'At the Duke of Albemarle's I heard read an examination of Sir Philip Howard with one of the plotting party. 'Then,' said Sir Philip, 'If you so come over to the King and be faithfull, you shall be maintained.' Then said such a one, 'Yes, I will be true to the King.' 'But d—— me,' said Sir Philip, 'will you be?' Twelve times Sir Philip said 'd—— me,' which was a fine way of rhetorique to persuade a Quaker or Anabaptist from his persuasion." (Pepys's Diary.)

"1666, London. 'A conspiracy under Colonel Rathbone and former officers and soldiers, to compass the death of the King, was discovered. The better to effect this hellish design, the city was to be fired, the portcullis to be let down, the Horse Guards to be surprised in the Inns where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose.' (Echard, p. 165.)

"1670, December 20th. R. Pitt to Prince Rupert. Informs as to a plot against the King:—"A certain person has engaged 50 men to fight the Guards at Whitehall Gates." Mentions "prudent persons, who instead of wearing armour had provided for themselves close bodied coats lined with quires of paper, w^{ch} w^d bear carbine shots." (Dom. S. P.)

To Lord Oxford's Regiment the same task—of watching over the King's interests, and of counter-working against Puritan plots—was committed in another sphere.* As the Life Guard had been summoned to check sedition in the capital, so it was the *rôle* of the Royal Regiment of Horse to act in the provinces as the King's eyes and ears, to observe the intrigues of faction, to run their instigators to earth, and to suppress them out of hand wherever detected. For this purpose the Royal Regiment was divided up into its component troops and distributed in various country districts. Thus, the King's Troop in 1662-3 was at Maidstone.† In July, 1664, it seems

* 1664. Sir Henry Wroth with his troop of Blues was sent to escort Colonel Hutchinson from the Tower to Sandown Castle in Kent:—

“Finding him sick and unable to travel in the heat of the day, instead of hurrying him into a boat for the morning tide, he was so civil as to let him go with the evening tide to Gravesend with a guard of soldiers in boats at his own charge where the horse guard met him. The Colonel's wife and children followed in another boat, and that night all the guards supped at the Colonel's charge and many of the guards lay in the chamber with him. The next morning very early the horse guards hurried him away; but to speak the truth they were very civil to him.” The prisoner subsequently died in captivity. (*Hutchinson Memoirs*.)

1681, August 14th (Sunday). Stephen Colledge was conveyed from the Tower by water with a Guard to Kingston, where a troop of the Earl of Oxford's Regiment received him and conveyed him to Henley where the Sheriff of Oxfordshire took charge of him and conveyed him to Oxford. Colledge was convicted of High Treason, and “after makeing a speech lasting over one hour, was hanged until he was quite dead, and was then quartered according to his sentence; but his body by the infinite clemency of his Majesty was given to his friends in order to its interment. His Majesty is graciously pleased to remove the order for placing his head on Temple Bar.”

1666, Bristol. “This day being Xmas Day many Quakers kept open their shops to show their contempt of authority, but some troops of Lord Oxford's Regiment who were there dealt more sharply with them than others have done, and forced them to shut them up.” (*Dom. S. P.*)

† 1662, November 6th. Warrant to of the Kings
troop quartered at Maidstone, to go to Dover Castle to receive Adcock
prisoner, and bring him before Secretary Bennett, allowing him to

to have been quartered in London and busy suppressing sedition.* At another time, under Colonel O'Neale, it was at Newbury, where it was treated by the townsfolk with loyal hospitality. Northampton, Nottingham, and other Midland towns, and also Dover,† were among the places frequented by Lord Oxford's Regiment.

In the spring of 1670 the Blues were quartered as follows: (1) The King's Troop, under Lord Hawley, at Canterbury; (2) the Earl of Oxford, the Colonel's, at Reading;‡ (3) Major Francis Wyndham's, at Salisbury; (4) Sir Edward Brett's, under orders from Watford and Rickmansworth, to Hammersmith; (5) Lord Fetchville's at York; (6) Sir Francis Compton's at Uxbridge and Colebrooke; (7) Sir Henry Jones's under orders from Sennock and Bromley to Highgate and Islington; and (8) Sir Thomas Armstrong's at Farnham. The Regiment had no Adjutant till 1684,§ no such officer having

speak to nobody, with a letter from M. O'Neal to Captain Bassett, commander of the troop, to appoint an officer to execute the warrant.—1663, January 26th. Warrant to Lieutenant Cooper, quartermaster of the King's troop at Maidstone, to receive Lord Wariston at Dover Castle, and to bring him to the Tower. (*Lord Montagu's Papers.*)

* 1664, July. The Duke of Albemarle writes to Captain Bassett, officer in chief of the King's Troop, that he is to "send a Corporall to receive from Sir H. Bennet orders to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver Robert Atkinson and Richard Akroyd to the keeper of the Gatehouse, and appoint six troopers to deliver them at Northampton to the chief officer of Colonel Frescheville's troop. Bennet will deliver moneys for journey, and post warrants for horses." (*Ibid.*)

† 1667, April 15th, Dover. Carlisle to Williamson. "Captain Armstrong's troop of horse, being part of the Earl of Oxford's Regiment, has come in." (*Dom. S. P.*)

‡ (Before 1670.) The Duke of Albemarle to Lord Gerard. Paul Hobson, a prisoner, to be delivered up at Reading to an Officer of the Earl of Oxford's troop, who will convey him to Chepstow. E. Bagshaw seized by a party of Monk's Life Guard. (*Ibid.*)

§ A Royal Warrant of September 1st, 1684, creates the post:—

Forasmuch as We have thought fit to appoint our Trusty and well-beloved David Lloyd, Esq., to be Adjutant in Our Royal Regt.

previously been needed, owing to the manner in which the troops had been dispersed, so that each was practically a self-contained unit.

The discovery being made that York was a centre of republican sedition, a number of the conspirators were in the winter of 1664 apprehended and tried by special commission, and fifteen of them, being found guilty, were executed. As a further measure of precaution, it was decided to have a strong garrison at York, and the King's Troop of the Blues was accordingly ordered thither, being entertained enthusiastically at Leicester on its march to its destination. In December this Troop, recently reduced to 70 men, was by special warrant restored to its original strength of 80 men.

The ill-feeling between Great Britain and Holland, which two years later was to result in an open rupture, was fostered, not merely by commercial rivalry, but by Dutch encouragement of the republican movement in Yorkshire, the heads of which were in active correspondence with the Government of Holland.

It would appear that the Dissenters' meeting-houses were commonly employed for political purposes, and the assistance of the Royal Regiment was invoked for dealing with

of Horse Guards; and there being no pay allowed by Our Establishment of our Forces and Garrisons for that Employment, Our Will and Pleasure is, that one Soldier's pay of each of the Eight Troops of that Regiment be allowed from the date hereof, in lieu of pay to the said Adjutant; and that you allow thereof in such manner as aforesaid, without his producing to you any Soldier or the names of any Soldiers to be mustered for that purpose, so that not above one Soldier's pay in each of the said Troops be reserved on this occasion, for which this shall be a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the first day of September, 1684.
By His Maties. Command,

SUNDERLAND.

To Our Trusty and well Beloved Henry
Howard, Esq., our Commissary Genl.
of Our Musters, or his Deputy.

these hotbeds of treason.* Some stringent action became necessary, as may be seen from the following order addressed to Lord Hawley, who after O'Neale's death had succeeded to the command of the King's Troop :—

CH. to our trusty and well beloved John Lord Hawley Captain of a troop of horse in y^e Regiment commanded by our right trusty and Right well beloved cousin Aubrey Earl of Oxford—whereas for y^e better secureing y^e peace of these parts against y^e dangerous attempts of seditious conventicles and meetings, wee have commanded two troopes of our said regiment of horse and two more companyes of foot and one of our regiments of guards† to march to Yorke and their to remain together with three companys of foot which are already enquartered there until our further order, these are to authorise and to command y^e said two troopes of horse, and three companies of foot or any other of our guards and said regiment of horse which shall be aggragated to them in the performance of all things which shall be for our service y^e security of that place and quiet of y^e country. In due execution of which you are to obey all orders of y^e Lord Lieutenant in whose precincts y^e shall happen to be.‡ All officers and souldiers of y^e aforesaid troopes of horse, and companyes of foot are hereby required to obey you as their commander-in-chief. February 5, 1665.

On February 22nd, 1665, a war with Holland was declared with the usual formalities, in which heralds, mace-bearers, and trumpeters took part, the presence of two troops of Life Guards supplying the martial element. The declaration was read—amid what the official account terms “shouts of joy”—at Westminster, Temple Bar, and the Royal Exchange, the Horse Guards “drawing

* In 1670 it was still found that religious meeting-houses were centres of disaffection :—

Francis Rainsford writes to Williamson :—“All the meeting places in London have been secured by the military and peace officers. . . . A great meeting in Little Moorfields was dispersed by the Life Guards and some Foot.” (*Dom. S. P.*)

S. Talbot writes to Williamson on the subject of suppressing conventicles :—“What we require is that a troop of Lord Oxford's regiment may be sent and quartered in Wiltshire to curb these insolent people.” (*Ibid.*)

† Lord Wentworth's.

‡ See Lord Arlington's letter to Lord Fauconberg, June 21st, 1667, on military obedience to Lords Lieutenant, p. 34.

their swords and clattering them." A certain number of the private gentlemen of the corps volunteered and were accepted for special service on board the Fleet.*

In May, in consequence of the ravages of the Plague, the King and Queen left Whitehall, and under the escort of a detachment of the Life Guards, went first to Hampton Court and thence to Salisbury and Oxford. At the loyal entertainments which several of the towns offered their Majesties special invitations were always sent to their attendant Guards.

The Plague having abated in the winter of '65, the King, with the Duke of York, and again escorted by the Life Guard, left Oxford for Hampton Court, where he arrived on January 27th, 1666, returning to Whitehall on February 1st.

During the whole time of the King's absence the ever-vigilant Albemarle remained in London with some of the Life Guards, doubtless to keep an eye on the doings of the conspirators who, under the direction of a republican council, were plotting to murder the King and carry out a revolution. Albemarle during the autumn paid a flying visit to the King at Oxford, and was able to report the measures taken for checkmating sedition in the capital.†

The precautions taken proved successful. The *London Gazette* of April 23rd following records the trial at the Old Bailey of several officers and soldiers of the late pretended "Commonwealth," who had plotted to surprise the Tower, kill the Lieutenant and the Duke of Albemarle, fire the City, and surprise the Horse Guards: which feats being duly performed they were to have "declared for an equal division of land and other matters."

* See p. 72, *note*.

† 1665, November 30th (Oxford). "The Duke of Albemarle arrived from London. Welcomed by the King and returns immediately to 'the Cockpit'" (*Newspaper*)—the headquarters at Whitehall, which occupied the site of the present Treasury.

That their fellow-conspirators in York were still being satisfactorily looked after by Lord Hawley and the Blues was doubtless also reported to His Majesty by the Duke of York, who, armed with plenary military authority, paid a visit of some weeks' duration to the northern city in the autumn of 1665 before rejoining the King at Oxford. Lord Hawley writes officially on August 19th, "We are kindly used in the county and the Duke is pleased with the north. I shall not remove my troop from the country during His Highness' stay, unless on orders from Salisbury, as there is some apprehension of fanatics." That within a few days these orders must have arrived, is evident from the date of a commission sent from the King at Salisbury to Lord Fretchville, appointing him to succeed Lord Hawley as governor and commandant at York.* During the remainder of the Dutch war Lord Fretchville's Troop of the Blues, which during the Duke's stay had replaced the King's Troop, remained as one of the two in garrison. In view of the gravity of the situation this Troop was augmented from sixty to one hundred.†

It is evident that the Blues made themselves liked and respected at York. When Lord Hawley's Troop was about to be relieved by Lord Fretchville's,‡ the following

* 1665, August. Commission from the King at Salisbury, on the way to Oxford in time of the Plague, to John, Lord Fretchville to command (at York, *vice* Lord Hawley, who takes the King's Troop south) two troops of horse and several companies of foot "which are aggregated in those quarters to prevent dangerous attempts of seditious conventicles"—he being subject to the orders of the several Lords Lieutenant, or of the Secretary of State, or of "the Duke of York while he remains in those parts" (*i.e.*, during his autumn visit of inspection), "or, of the Duke of Albemarle," commanding-in-chief.

† 1665, June. London. Estimate of the expense of an establishment of 40 private soldiers to be added to John, Lord Fretchville's Troop of the Royal Regiment of Horse: total yearly cost, £1,820.

‡ Two items of interest relate to the earliest days of Lord Fretchville's civil and military governorship:—

1665, September 23rd. York. "Lord Freschville brought up his Troops outside the city to pay farewell duty to the Duke of York,

testimony to their popularity appeared in a public journal :—

We are now in expectation of fresh troops and although we doubt not of being still supplied as we have been hitherto with Persons beyond all expectation yet the tryall we have had of the Good Order and Demanour of these at present makes us a little loth to part with our old acquaintance. Several of the Prime Gentry hereabouts have been to wait upon my Lord Hawley before his departure and to acknowledge his noble deportment among them with great expressions of Respect and Satisfaction.

The ground for this “Respect and Satisfaction” was solid and tangible. It lay in the preferential treatment accorded by the Blues to the citizens of York in the matter of paying their bills :—

His Lordship has this day caused notice to be given by beat of drum for all persons to whom any monies were owing from any under his command either for quarters or otherwise to bring in their Bills which is looked upon here as his Lordship’s singular regard to this city.

In 1665 naval operations were begun against the Dutch, the Fleet being under the supreme command of the Duke of York, with Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich as his immediate subordinates. On June 3rd the Duke of York fought a victorious action, in which Sir Charles Berkeley (Earl of Falmouth), colonel of the Duke’s Troop of Life Guards,* met his death ; the Earl, Lord Muskerry,

which was answered by the canon from Cliffords Tower.”—“The body of Sir Thomas Carnaby, Lieutenant to the Lord Freschville was buried at the cathedral. He was unhappily slain upon Wednesday last, and his death is universally lamented.” See CHAPTER VI., p. 55.

* It was not unusual for military officers to volunteer for service with the Fleet :—1665. “Whereas we have given leave to John Lord Berkeley Guidon and major of our owne Troop of our Horse Guards to be absent in our Service at sea on board one of our Ships as a volunteer, we hereby authorize you to allowe and passe him as Guidon and Major on the Musters during his absence.” See CHAPTER XI., p. 107.

Sometimes they would go in a private capacity, as in the following instance. It may be assumed that Mr. Taylor’s “shame” is purely official and conventional :—1666, July. S. Taylor to Williamson. Is

and Mr. Boyle being all three struck by the same cannon ball, and quite close to the Duke himself, who had a narrow escape. Four days afterwards the Duke appointed Louis Duras (Marquis de Blanquefort, later Earl of Feversham) to succeed Lord Falmouth in the command of the Second—afterwards Third—Troop of Life Guards.

The following year the King, anxious that the heir to the Throne should not hazard his person again at sea, replaced him in command of the Fleet by the Duke of Albemarle, with whom was associated Prince Rupert. On June 1st Albemarle, who by stress of weather had been separated from his colleague, engaged De Witt, the inventor of the chain shot, first used on this occasion. The issue was indecisive, and the English commander's rashness and contempt of his enemy was sharply criticised. A few weeks later, on July 25th, 1666, in concert with Rupert, he again engaged the enemy and won a decisive though bloody battle.

Albemarle's popularity now reached its supreme level, and the people went so far as to say that his presence in London would have averted the Great Fire of September, 1666. At the time of this calamity the Life Guards rendered great service. They remained for three days continuously under arms, several detachments lending efficient aid at various points, while others escorted the King and the Duke of York during their personal efforts to check the progress of the flames.

During the years 1666-7, as well as subsequently,* Lord Oxford and several troops of his Regiment were busy on the east coast. In June, 1666, his own troop of "ashamed to say that some deputy lieutenants, Life Guards, gentlemen, and Volunteers, went on board a galliot hoy to see the Dutch fleet. The galliot chased a Dutch ketch, got to small shot, etc. This should not be put in the *Gazette*." (*Dom. S. P.*)

* 1672, May 15th, Southwold. "Sir F. Compton's troop left this to-day."

the Blues moved its quarters from Newmarket to Woodbridge, and thence march to Landguard Fort, being ordered to take up new quarters within two miles of that place.

In 1667 the Government tardily woke up to the fact that the Thames and the Medway were exposed to attack by the Dutch fleet. The discovery led to an amount of official heart-searching, which would have proved more salutary had it been less short-lived. De Witt, intending to direct the real attack elsewhere, made a feint as though his objective were Harwich. To Lord Oxford, as Lord Lieutenant of Essex, it belonged to raise the county militia and to "order horse and foot." In the month of June, in consequence of the prevailing uneasiness and uncertainty as to the intentions of the Dutch, Lord Oxford's troop of the Blues was busy marching to-and-fro between Chatham and Dover. Colonel Silius Titus, at this time Governor of Deal, reported to Lord Arlington at the War Office the appearance of the Dutch off the North Foreland. With the Colonel at Deal was another troop of the Blues—Lord Hawley's—numbering 100 horse. In July Lord Oxford, having done his best with the forces under his command, was constrained to make strong representations to the War Office as to their inadequacy to defend the line of coast threatened by the enemy's fleet, and to ask for "more gunners, horse and foot."

The republican agitation was not confined to the southern part of the island. Public order was effectively preserved in the northern kingdom by the two Scots Troops of Life Guards, which were called out to quell an outbreak organised by sectaries against so-called "Episcopalian" services. On November 13th, 1666, about 3,000 armed rebels, having surprised and disarmed some of the King's forces, marched to within two miles of Edinburgh and then turned westward. The two Troops, with some

infantry, were sent in pursuit of this band, which they overtook on the Pentland Hills. The Guards opened the attack with a determined charge, which the enemy withstood with great obstinacy ; but, the other royal forces coming up in support, the insurgents fled in disorder, leaving about sixty killed and a hundred and thirty taken prisoners.

CHAPTER IX

RUMOUR had, in 1668, been for some time busy as to an impending change in the captaincy of the Life Guards, one of the prizes ardently coveted by the Duke of Monmouth. The interest—such as it is—of the Duke of Monmouth's career is inextricably bound up with the question of his parentage. His mother, Lucy Walter, more generally called Walters, came of a gentleman's family in Wales, which had been seated for some generations at Roch or Roach Castle, near Haverfordwest. During the Civil War the place, after holding out bravely for the Royalist cause, was captured by the other side, and was then dismantled and burnt. Lucy's father, Mr. William Walter—not Sir Richard Walters, as Burke conjectures—seems to have migrated to Rhôsmarket, where his unfortunate daughter is said to have been born. Her family being impoverished, and Lucy—described by one admirer as “brave, beautiful, and bold,” or, as James the Second says, “having little means and less grace”—came to London to make her fortune.

In future years the partisans of Monmouth alleged, and her own relatives boasted, that Charles the Second had been privately married to Lucy. The King himself publicly pledged and solemnly placed on record his royal word that this was untrue.* In point of fact, the question of

* The only extant indications of anything resembling an authoritative acknowledgment that Charles the Second was married to Lucy Walter occur in two letters addressed to him by the Princess of Orange from the Hague on May 20th, 1655, and from Hounslerdike on June 21st following. In the one her Highness says, “Your wife is resolving whither she will writ or no: therefor I am to say nothing to you from



The Duke of Monmouth.
from an Engraving
in the possession of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson.

Monmouth's legitimacy does not arise in any way, because his father was not the King, but Colonel Robert Sidney—a conclusion based not merely upon the undoubted external resemblance between the son and the father, but upon a well-authenticated admission of Robert Sidney himself.

It doubtless ministered to Charles's vanity to persuade himself that this well-favoured young man was his natural son,* and he resolved to advance him to high station.† Monmouth cherished the strongest desire to command his putative sire's Life Guards, and several circumstances conspired in 1668 to enable the King to gratify his wish. Lord Gerard, who from its first formation had commanded the corps of Life Guards, was induced by several considerations to vacate his position. The King had probably never forgiven the slights which Lady Gerard had persistently put upon Lady Castlemaine, Charles's prime favourite, whose influence was thenceforth unrelentingly employed against the offender's husband.

As it fell out, Lord Gerard was soon to furnish his enemy with an effective weapon against himself, of which she was not slow to make use. His faithful service as commander of the royal body-guard during the early years of its existence cannot avail to obscure the fact that Lord Gerard's administration of the Troop was not altogether

her"; in the other, "Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you, which is all shee can say. I tell her 'tis because she thinks of another husband, and does not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband: 'tis a frailty they say is given to the sex: therefore you will pardon her I hope." (*Thurloe State Papers*, Vol. I., p. 665.) The tone and tenour of these extracts negative the idea that the terms "wife" and "husband" are other than euphemisms.

* James the Second was the subject of a very similar delusion, supposing himself to be the father of two daughters by Katharine Sedley, their real father probably being Col. Graham, keeper of his privy purse.—*Lingard*, ed. 1849, x. 202.

† 1662, November 10th. Warrant for a grant to Sir James Scott, the King's natural son, of the titles Duke of Monmouth, Earl of Doncaster, and Baron of Fotheringay.

happy. For certain grave irregularities in the management of its finances he must, as commandant, be held at least officially responsible,* although the name immediately connected with them was that of William Carr. Holding a position of high trust as clerk of the Troop, Carr misappropriated to his own use large sums provided for their pay. Systematic pilfering had been going on for some time when in a petition to the King, dated 1666,† it is asserted that "Lord Gerard put such abuses on the Guards, who are all related to loyal families," that the Troop is "thinned of persons of quality, who wanted to ride in it at the Restoration," and that he "would not find sixteen men who would on occasion be commanded by him." It is alleged that "deductions are made from the allowances" for the benefit of "the captain and the clerk"—Lord Gerard and William Carr. It is represented that "the abuse of the officers of the Guard lights on the King, for people ask why they do not address him, and they say that too many about him will not let His Majesty hear anything that may prevent his looking pleasantly on them, till their turns are served."

The grievance is really a substantial one:—"The Guards suffer much because their money is put to interest and they not paid till two months in arrear, and then with deductions."‡ They are ground between the upper and

* Andrew Marvell, M.P., writes to Antony Lambert, Mayor:—"There is before the House a particular businesse concerning the L. Gerard, Capt. of H.M. Guard, which will and doth reflect highly upon his fortune and character."

† This took the form of an anonymous letter, reported to have been written by a woman, and sent to Captain Miller—on the Duke of Albemarle's staff—at the Duke's residence in the Cockpit, June 30, 1666. (*Dom. S. P.*)

‡ 1666, September 24th. Warrant to Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster, "to pay £2,100 to Thomas Ross to enable the King's own troop of Guards to attend him to Audley End. They are 5 months behind in pay, because the rolls are in Lord Gerard's hands."

[Endorsed] "£2,100, D. Monmouth's troope." (*Dom. S. P.*)

the nether millstones, for “the Paymaster pretends he is only allowed to pay them once in a half-year, and they are forced to give an allowance to a clerk who pretends he has great trouble to get the money.”

The petitioners proceed to point the moral. They avow that “it is now a scandal to be a Life Guardsman,” and that “people scoff and say, ‘Be a soldier? No: we have precedents daily in the streets; we will fight no more, for, when the war is over, we are treated like dogs.’” This part of the petition, it must be admitted, has a curiously modern ring about it. Last comes the dismal, if somewhat incoherent, foreboding that “the Guards will soon be full of tinkers, robbers, and hackney coachmen”—truly a striking combination—“for, however stout, well-born, or loyal a man may be, he will not get in unless he has money to give the officers.” It is not explained how the tinkers and hackney coachmen were to find this *bakshish*.

By-and-by the charge against William Carr assumes a more definite shape. An official report to the War Office of July 18th, 1667, states that Carr was “suspected of doing something unhandsome.” He had received a pass for Calais on the pretext of his having been sent by Lord Gerard to the Queen Mother, in support of which he produced a written order to the effect that his business was “private and required haste.” This latter statement was literally true: he was absconding abroad after helping himself to no less a sum than £1,630 7s. 1d. out of a total of £2,291 16s. advanced by Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster of the Forces, to Lord Gerard, as Captain of the Life Guard.

As it was on no account to be thought of that the Crown should bear the loss, the responsibility for making good the deficit lay between commandant and paymaster, each of whom tried to shift it on to the shoulders of the

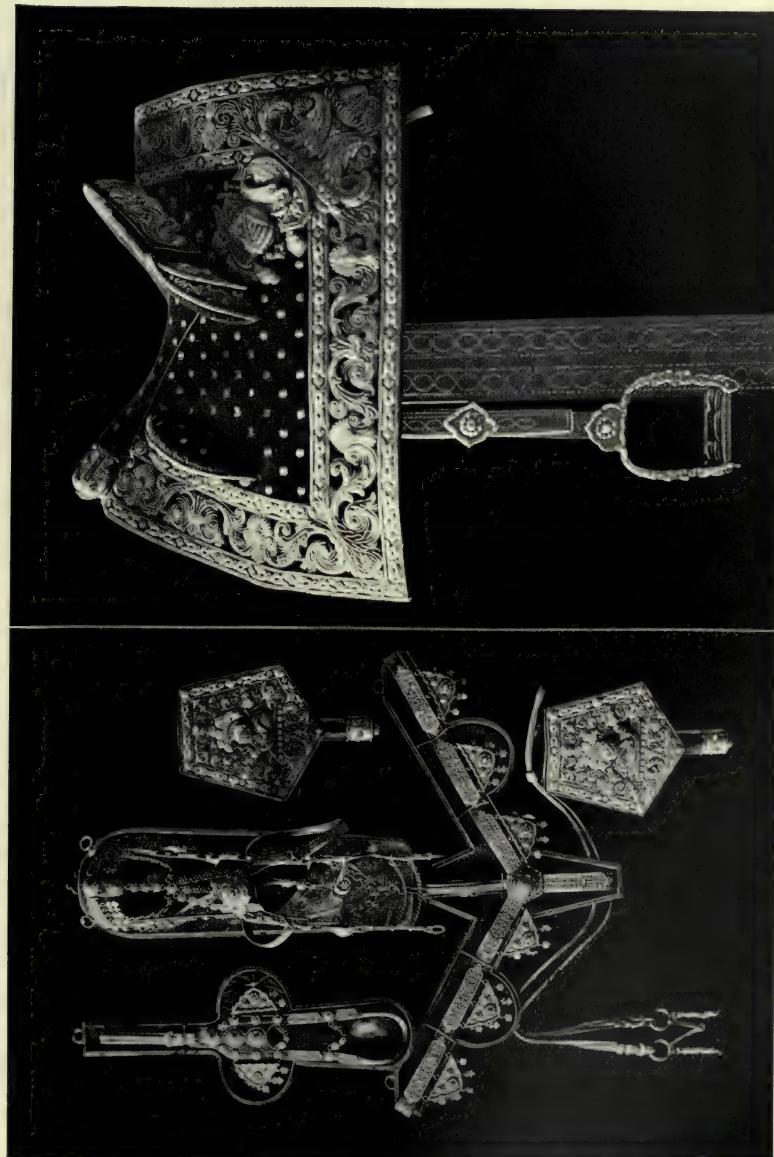
other. An Order in Council of September 18th, 1667, directs that the issue between them be determined in a court of law; but that, pending the final decision, the two parties are to be jointly answerable for the payment of the Troop, each handing over a deposit to the Lord Privy Seal for that purpose.

Sir Stephen, having duly performed his part by lodging a deposit of £819 13s. 6d., had the mortification of finding that Lord Gerard, on his side, not only flatly refused to carry the matter into court, but—as the Paymaster ruefully informs the King in a petition presented in the following May—prevented his opponent from taking legal action by pleading privilege. No wonder poor Sir Stephen asks for his money back! His request met, however, with cold indifference, for another Order in Council, issued in June, '68, directs that of the sum in question Sir Stephen Fox should pay two-thirds, and Lord Gerard only one-third.

Of the final upshot of this sordid business no official record is forthcoming, but from a casual allusion by Pepys, writing in January, 1668, it is to be gathered that Lord Gerard had caused Carr to be put in the pillory—a proceeding which was criticised in Parliament, conceivably on the ground that the inflicter of the punishment ought himself to have shared it with the victim.

Such a rascal as Carr deserves little pity, yet it was surely a little hard on him, under the circumstances, to be charged with “uttering disaffected and dangerous words.” The pillory—whatever its educative merits in other respects—was not likely to figure as a school of refined or loyal language. But “it’s an ill wind,” etc., and Carr’s disgrace was promptly taken advantage of by one Colonel Fowke to petition for the vacated post of Paymaster to His Majesty’s Troop of Horse Guards.

It is evident that Lord Gerard, having suffered alike in



THE SADDLE PRESENTED BY CHARLES II TO THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.
Photographed by kind permission of the Duke of Buccleuch.

reputation and in purse, was ready for an adequate monetary consideration to further the King's desire to bestow the command of the Life Guards on the Duke of Monmouth. On receiving from Monmouth—or rather from the King—a sum variously estimated* at £8,000 and at £12,000, Gerard resigned his commission on September 13th, 1668, and was ten years afterwards appointed to the colonelcy of a new regiment of Horse. In July, 1679, he received the earldom of Newbury, afterwards changed for that of Macclesfield.†

Monmouth being thus appointed to succeed Lord Gerard, the ceremony of his inauguration was made as public and as imposing as possible. On September 16th a grand review was held in Hyde Park, at which the King in person installed the new commander,‡ presenting him with a magnificently wrought saddle, still an heirloom in the possession of the Duke of Buccleugh. Military displays in Hyde Park now became the order of the day. On the ensuing May 11th one was held there on a large scale, in which the Royal Regiment of Horse, as well as the Life Guards, took part. If the aim, or one of the aims, were to delight Prince Cosmo of Tuscany, now on a visit to the English Court, with a show of splendid specimens of well-armed, well-drilled and well-accoutred humanity, the object was more than attained. Only a

* The lower figure is official, the higher that adopted by Pepys. The discrepancy may probably be explained by Monmouth's gift of a house at Chiswick as part payment to Gerard.

† A biographical notice of him has been given in CHAPTER V., p. 44.

‡ Pepys writes:—"When I come to St. James's, I find the Duke of York gone with the King to see the muster of the Guards in Hyde Park; and their Colonel, the Duke of Monmouth, to take his command this day of the King's Life Guards, by surrender of my Lord Gerard. So I took a hackney-coach and saw it all; and indeed it was mighty noble, and their firing mighty fine, and the Duke of Monmouth in mighty rich clothes; but the well-ordering of the men I understand not."

few days elapsed before the King's impressionable Italian guest—whose open-mouthed admiration of the Guards' splendid appearance would have done credit to a modern nursemaid—was treated to another review. This time it was a show of the Life Guards alone; while the month was not out before the Prince's enthusiasm was to be further evoked on the occasion of his own entertainment to the King, to whom the Life Guards first furnished an escort and were then posted at the door of the Grand Duke's reception-room.

The Tuscan Prince's account of them—or rather of their raiment—occurs in *The Travels of Cosmo III. in England* :—

The first of the three companies of body-guards called the King's Company [King's troop of Life Guards], composed of gentlemen and half-pay officers, dressed in red jackets faced with blue, and richly ornamented with gold lace, and wearing white feathers in their hats, was commanded by the Duke of Monmouth. The second, called the Duke [of York]'s, commanded by the Marquis of Blandford,* nephew of Marshal Turenne, wore red jackets with blue facings, without gold, and white feathers in their hats. The third, that of the General [Albemarle], whose place was supplied by Sir Philip Howard, of the family of the Earls of Carlisle, wore a dress similar to that of the Duke's, and, instead of feathers, a ribbon of a crimson colour. Each of these companies has its lieutenants, who are Sir Thomas Sandys, Sir Gilbert Gerard (two for the King's troop), Major-General Egerton, and Sir George Hamilton. They marched by in files, in sight of His Majesty and their Highnesses. The vanguard consisted of the company of the Duke of Monmouth, who marched at its head in full dress. This was followed by the General's Company and a troop of the Earl of Oxford's regiment.

To the same keenly appreciative eye we are indebted for a passing glimpse of the Blues. Cosmo had only just arrived in England when he joyfully discovered, two miles from Basingstoke,

a troop of Horse, excellently mounted, of the Royal Regiment of my Lord Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, commanded by his Lieutenant. They came, by the King's orders, to attend upon, and

* A mistake for Blanquefort.

be at the disposal of, His Highness, as was intimated to him by the Commander, who, dismounting, came up to the carriage. His Highness in reply accepted only a small party, whom he sent to meet the baggage, and dismissed the rest. He then alighted to examine the military more closely, inspecting every file of the company, the officers of which wore a red sash with gold tassels.

There is abundant evidence that Monmouth's administration of his new command was methodical and business-like. For instance, on July 6th, 1670, he writes to the War department :—

I have taken an account of the arms of my troop and find that of 200 backs, breasts, and potts, 50 are wanting, whereof 14 were lost, some at the fire at the Horse Guards and others in service at Winchcomb. I beg for their supply and for 200 carbines promised by H.M. to the troop.

Within a week a warrant for these was issued. Two months later, on September 16th, he writes again :—

His Majesty having given order that 200 carbines should be supplied to the ordnance office for the use of my troop of Guards, I desire that he be moved for their delivery to Wm. Barker, also 200 belts, straps and sockets, and a wagon to carry them.

CHAPTER X

ON January 3rd, 1670, the Duke of Albemarle died. The public funeral of this great patriot, which took place on April 30th, included a procession from Somerset House to Westminster, in which pageant the Life Guards took a prominent part. The Duke of York's troop, commanded by the Marquis de Blanquefort, was in the van, His Majesty's own troop, under the Duke of Monmouth, coming next. The Queen's troop—late the Lord General's—closed the procession.

In contrast with the almost universal panegyric pronounced on the career of a really great Englishman and perhaps the most genuinely scientific soldier of his time, the following criticism of Monk's character from the pen of Charles James Fox (*Historical Works*, pp. 9, 20) deserves to be gibbeted as a typical example of reckless partisan defamation :—

The Army had fallen into the hands of one than whom a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks. Personal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue : reserve and dissimulation made up the whole of his wisdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he should choose to prescribe.

The censure, be it noted, is really directed against the people of England :—

And if the promise of indemnity may seem to argue that there was some attention at least paid to the safety of his associates in arms, his subsequent conduct gives reason to suppose that even this provision was owing to any other cause, rather than to any generous feeling of his breast : for he afterwards not only acquiesced in the insults so meanly put upon the illustrious corpse of Blake, under whose auspices and command he had performed the most creditable services of his life ; but, in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendship and confidence, to take away the life of a nobleman, the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution ; thus gratuitously surpassing in infamy those miserable

wretches, who, to save their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach and swear away the lives of their accomplices.

Albemarle's death left its mark on the history of the Life Guards, for the Third or "Duke of Albemarle's" Troop was henceforth to be known as the Second or "Queen's" Troop, and to hold prior rank to that named after the Duke of York, which now had the third place instead of the second. James's own account of a transaction which was profoundly distasteful to him, whilst it redounds little to the credit of "some who were glad of any occasion, underhand, to put any mortification upon His Royal Highness," exhibits him in the light of a loving brother and a loyal subject. He preserved a scrupulously correct attitude throughout—strenuously arguing against the scheme as long as there was a reasonable hope of its being averted, and then frankly and spontaneously abandoning his opposition rather than embarrass his Sovereign.

James begged of the King that his Troop, at present ranking next after His Majesty's own, should not suffer the loss of its precedence, which would be a hardship not only to himself but also to his officers, who had shown themselves excellent men. He reminded the King, in illustration of his own disinterestedness, that at the time when his regiment of Foot was raised he had never thought of asking, as he well might have done, that they should take precedence of the Coldstream. In these reasonable representations the King expressed at the time his entire concurrence. But no sooner was the Duke of Albemarle's troop assigned to the Queen than—partly because she personally disliked the Duke, and partly because she was very sensitive as to any slight offered to her own dignity—Her Majesty urged on her royal consort that her Troop must rank next to his own. Charles, mindful of his promise, was greatly embarrassed, whereupon the Duke, hearing of the difficulty, went straight to

his brother and observed that he saw His Majesty was "teased by the women and others," and that, although he still thought it a hardship, he begged the King not to consider himself bound by his former promise, "for, whatever others did, it was his resolution never to make the King uneasy for any concern of his own." The Queen, therefore, for once got her own way, and the Second and Third Troops of Life Guards changed places in rank.

In respect to another and graver matter the Duke of York felt himself constrained to offer advice to the King. It is only fair to admit that many of those described as "glad of any occasion, underhand, to put any mortification upon His Royal Highness" were wholly sincere and not without warrant in dreading that re-establishment of "Popery" in England which James himself sought to effect. But the means by which they sought to ward off the danger were indefensible. To adopt the Duke of Monmouth as a rival for the succession to the Throne, and to do this on the alleged ground—well known to be baseless—that Monmouth was the King's legitimate son, was to prefer Protestantism to truth.

The King's rightful heir would naturally feel himself justified, on grounds both public and private, in counter-working against so shameful an intrigue. As early as during Albemarle's last illness, James earnestly pressed upon his brother the unwisdom of appointing another general after Albemarle's death to succeed him in the chief command of the Army, urging that it was a position of too great power to be entrusted to any one, not even excepting himself. The King, yielding for the time to an argument that appealed to his own shrewd common sense, not long afterwards allowed his fondness for his alleged son to over-ride this prudent counsel. In a circular dated March 30th, 1674, all commanding officers are ordered henceforth to "observe such orders as they shall receive"

from the Duke of Monmouth. Nevertheless, after an experience of two and a half years, this large authority was subjected to considerable limitation. An order addressed to Monmouth on September 7th, 1676, commands that "all such kinds of warrants and orders as formerly issued from George, Duke of Albemarle . . . and which we continue to issue from ourself, shall pass our sign manual only, and shall be countersigned by the Secretary to our Forces as by our command." Such an order, which really knocked the bottom out of Monmouth's military supremacy, was not likely to content him. With the persistency that had so often stood him in good stead, he importuned the King for a general's commission. Charles yielded, only to find—as might have been expected—that his complaisance had supplied a stimulus to the taking of further liberties. Monmouth contrived that in various documents referring to himself the word "natural" should be omitted before "son."* This fact was, in one instance, brought to the King's notice by the Duke of York, upon which the King took out his scissors, cut the commission in two, and ordered another to be prepared, with the word "natural" in it. The incipient antagonism between the two Dukes—respectively representing in one aspect the Romanist and Protestant causes, in another the claim of legitimate right as opposed to that of illegitimate pretensions—was henceforth to develop into a life-and-death struggle for possession of the Throne.

The Duke of York's distrust and dislike of the present commandant of the Life Guards were doubtless intensified by the share taken by the latter in two incidents of a

* Sir Orlando Bridger, Keeper of the Privy Seal (October, 1670), writes:—"I found the writ for the Duke [of Monmouth] directed *charissimo consanguineo et consiliario nostro*, and the warrant to myself for issuing it ordered the stile, 'To our dear son.' I remember, when H.M. was moved in this before, he thought this last too much, and gave orders for the writ to run, *filio nostro naturali et illegitimo*."

peculiarly disgraceful kind, which occurred soon after the opening of the Parliament in 1670.* During a debate in the House of Commons on a proposal to tax playhouses, the Court party objected that the players were "a part of the King's pleasure." Sir John Coventry, belonging to the country party, made rejoinder with a sneering reference to Nell Gwynne and Moll Davies. This gibe, reflecting on the King's personal habits, gave great offence at Court, and on January 8th, 1671, a party of the Life Guards—including Sandys, O'Brien, Michael Reeves, Simon Parry, and nearly a dozen more, acting at the direct instigation of their commanding officer—waylaid Coventry near Suffolk Street, Haymarket, late at night, and violently assaulted him. Their victim made a brave resistance :—

When attacked, he snatched a torch out of his servant's hands, and placing himself with his back to the wall, with a flambeau in his left hand, and a sword in his right, gave so good an account of himself that he wounded three of his assailants before he could be disarmed. Then these "gallants," having thrown him to the ground and slit his nose, cutting it to the bone, returned to Monmouth House, where the wound O'Brian† had received from Coventry was attended to.‡ (*Newspaper.*)

* The opening of Parliament on February 14th, 1670, was the first occasion of the kind on which the Sovereign had been escorted by Life Guards. Ralph (i. 179) declares that this is "the first instance we meet of a Sovereign entering upon the exercise of his Legislative Power under the influence and awe of the Sword." The practice did not become usual till after 1699, when the old Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire.

† O'Brien's position in the Life Guards was evidently only that of a "private gentleman," his name not appearing among those of the commissioned officers—in itself a clear proof of the enlistment of peers' sons in the Life Guard and of the *camaraderie* subsisting between officers and "private gentlemen." O'Brien seems to have had a pretty taste for adventure. Sir John Clayton writes on July 16th, 1670, to Sir R. Paston :—"There was a young heiress snatched up about Wansor last week by Mr. O'Brien the youngest and his company, but they laid their plot so ill that she was recovered that night by the Lord Chief Justice's warrant, and he is fain to satisfy himself with riding a trooper in the Duke [of York]'s Guards." (*Hist. MSS., Sir H. Ingilby.*)

‡ Comp. Andrew Marvell, M.P.:—"25 of the Duke of Monmouth's troop set on him and cut off the end of his nose, but company coming

The resentment aroused by so great an outrage on the dignity of Parliament led to the passing of the "Coventry Act," by which malicious wounding and maiming was made a capital crime. Monmouth, however, emboldened by immunity from punishment, was guilty of a still graver offence. One night, a short while afterwards, in company with the young Duke of Albemarle and others, and inflamed with excess of drink, he attacked, disarmed, and then brutally murdered, a beadle of the watch, though the poor man on his knees begged for his life. Even this atrocity was allowed to go unpunished, but its effect on public opinion may easily be imagined.*

During the whole of Charles the Second's reign, if one bugbear of the country was "Popery," another was the creation of a Standing Army. Not seldom these twin sources of popular uneasiness were linked together, and served to reinforce each other. Pepys (January 20th, 1667) hazards the opinion that "it is mighty acceptable to the world to hear that, among other reductions, the King do reduce his Guards, which do please mightily." As Hallam observes (*Const. Hist.* ii. 513), "The retention of the King's Guards excited some jealousy. Though no complaints were made in Parliament, the sudden levy in 1667 lent

made them fearful to finish it, so they marched off. O'Brien remained concealed in Monmouth's lodging. The King commanded Sir T. Clarges and Sir W. Pulteney to release Wroth and Lake, but the night before the House met they were surrendered again. The House voted that they would go on nothing else till they had passed a Bill, as they did, for Sands, O'Brien, Parry and Reeves to come in by 16 Feb., or else to be condemned and never pardoned by an express act, for fear of an Act of Parliament. A further Bill enacted all such actions in future to be felony. Parliament may imprison for a year or treble damages."

* In some doggerel of the day, *On the Three Dukes Killing the Beadle on Sunday Morning, Feb. 26th, 1671*, the original episode out of which this crime was developed is referred to as of a peculiarly scandalous character. The time was to come when the principal actor in this tragedy would in his turn beg on his knees in vain for the mercy he had refused to the poor watchman.

credit to dark surmises of sinister Court designs." The reduction of the Army, especially by the wholesale weeding out of all Roman Catholic soldiers, was ardently desired. During the Session of 1667 the Commons voted the thanks of the House to the King forasmuch as " His Majesty had been pleased to disband the lately raised forces, and to dismiss the papists from out his guards, and other military employments." (*Echard*, p. 195). The question was hotly debated in the House of Commons whether the King should be allowed to employ Roman Catholic officers in the army. The Court exerted its utmost influence to persuade the House to grant this permission. The story of the result, and of the circumstances under which it came about, is highly characteristic of the time. On a division, the votes were equal, but one member came to the House, who had not voted:—

As soon as the Minister saw him, he accosted him, and reminded him in a whisper, that he held a place under the Government, desiring him to take care not to forfeit his vote. To which the member replied aloud, "Sir, a relation of mine died yesterday and left me £1,000 per annum; I am rich enough not to want the King's favours." He then gave his vote against the Court, by which a negative was put to the question.

The dismissal of Roman Catholics* from the King's Life Guards was the source of much personal hardship,

* Some of the vacated places were given to Protestants. In 1668 Lord Arlington writes to Lieut.-General the Duke of Albemarle:—"The King wishes you to order the 24 Protestant officers of horse and foot who came from Portugal to be received into the 8 troops of His Majesty's Regiment of Horse, under the Earl of Oxford, three in each troop." Albemarle accordingly issued the following order:—"It is His Majestie's command that some Protestant Officers of Horse & Foote who came from Portugal to the number of twenty four bee intertained in His Majestie's Regiment of Horse under the command of the right honourable Aubrey Earle of Oxford, by takeing three of them into eache of the eight Troopes of the said Regiment & the persons heereafter specified to wit Captain Theodore Russell, Captain Nicholas Rendarvy & Lieut William Armstrong being the three to be intertained into His Majestie's own Troope under your Lordship's command, accordingly your Lordship is to interteine them as soldiers in the saide Troope against the next muster, that their paye may begin

as existing records show. In December, 1667, a number of "officers and gentlemen, who served in the Guards—Horse and Foot—in England and beyond the seas," petition for "employment, as they are now dismissed on account of their religion, and left destitute, though told, when they were turned out, that they should have special favour." In 1669 Nicholas Cantwell petitions "to be replaced in the Foot Guards, from which he was cashiered on account of religion, and rejected from the Horse Guards by Lord Gerard, after being at the expense of buying a horse and arms." The petition of Captain W. Boorke and Philip Kennedy sets forth that, "tho' they were appointed to the Horse Guards, Lord Gerard refused to admit them, on which they sold their horses, and served against the Dutch, but being now returned are worse off than ever." They pray the King for "military employment and money for equipment."*

then, And if you have not vacant places to putt them in by that time in case they come well horsed & well armed you are to turne out three of the said Troope to make roome for the persons aforesaid. Given under my hand at the Cockpitt 4 December 1668.

"ALBERMARLE.

"To the right hon^{ble} Francis Lord Hawley,
or in his absence to the Officer in Chiefe
commanding his Majestie's own Troope
under his Lordship's command at Guildford."

(*Hist. MSS. Ld. Montagu.*)

* 1667, December. Petition from Captain Michael Brett to the King for subsistence till he can find employment. Served at Dunkirk in the Horse Guards, and in the new forces under Lord Chesterfield.

1667. Petition of Captain John Grady to Lord Arlington, Secretary at War, for something considerable in lieu of small pension. Served the late King during the War. Followed his present Majesty abroad. Brought his own company of foot to him at Bruges. Served in the Earl of Bristol's regiment, and in Colonel Farrell's at Mardike, and on his dismissal has "trailed a pike in the Life Guards."

1675, November 12th. There is an order to pay three men of the Duke of York's Troop of Horse Guards who had been "respited" at the previous muster for not having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the Sacrament, but having since done so were to receive

A pathetic petition to the King pleads the cause of the gentlemen excluded from the troops of Life Guards of Horse in 1667, and of some "reformed" officers. They "beg him to find them bread; they spent their youth and blood, and underwent all hardships short of death, for His Majesty and his Father, and now a fate worse than death awaits them, they being made incapable of employment." The King in his desire to reconcile the dictates of humanity with the duty of a constitutional ruler, did the best he could for these unfortunates by leaving them free to enter foreign service. Arlington wrote to Sandwich :—

Concerning the Reformado's* of the Guards of Horse, His Majesty thought fit the other day to have them dismissed according to his promise made to the Parl^t at the last Session. Mr. Hamilton † had a secret overture made to him that he with those men should be welcome to the French Service,—His Majesty at their dismission having declared they should have leave to go abroad whither they pleased, they accepted of Mr. Hamilton's offer to carry them to France.‡ The Spanish Ambassador complained of this to His Majesty who owned to know nothing more of it than that he had given them leave to seek their fortune where they could find it, that, having turned them out of his guards, he was unwilling to proceed with any further severity

their money and to have their "Respits vacated." (W. O. Class 26, No. 3.)

* *i.e.*, disbanded officers.

† Count George Hamilton, of the King's Troop of Life Guards, was a grandson of the Earl of Abercorn and the first husband of the beautiful Frances Jennings, whose sister Sarah became Duchess of Marlborough. Charles strongly recommended him to the favour of Louis XIV., who gave him a commission in his army, as one of a body-guard of *gens d'armes anglais*. After being made a Marshal of France Hamilton was killed during the retreat of the French on Saverne, after the battle of Ziebenstein in 1676.

‡ 1667, October 1st (*News Letter*). Among others affected was Sir Henry Jones, Lieutenant of Lord Hawley's troop in the Blues:—"On Sunday, Lord George Douglas departs with his regiment of 1,600 men for Spain. They take with them cloth to make red coats lined with white, given by the King. Mr. George Hamilton is assured of the honourable conditions he and his men are to have in France. Sir Henry Jones goes as his Lieutenant, Lord Morpeth as his Cornet, and Mr. Skelton as his quarter-master." (*Hist. MSS., S. H. Le Fleming.*)

towards them by constraining them to serve against their liking. But, if the Spanish Ambassador could prevail on them to go to Flanders, they should have Passports given them.

Even so modest a measure of relief offended the anti-Papist zeal of the Parliamentary majority :—

The House of Commons being informed that some soldiers with their horses and arms were in Readiness to be transported to foreign parts, a resolution was taken to urge the King to forbid the same. (Ralph's *Chronicle*.)

This continually seething discontent, provoked in part by the growth of the regular army, but even more by dread of Papist intrigues, gradually concentrated itself in hostility towards an individual personality. Both as identified with the policy of military expansion,* and as a Roman Catholic zealously determined to propagate his religion, the heir presumptive to the throne fell under the ban of public opinion. It was already foreseen that in the next reign the religious issue must come to a head. Various projects of legislation were aimed directly at the Duke of York, and nothing but the steadfast brotherly affection of the King stood between James and the enemies who openly compassed his exclusion from the throne.†

* During Albemarle's lifetime, when it was proposed to disband a hundred of the three troops of Horse Guards, the scheme was defeated through the combined opposition of the Dukes of York and Albemarle. (Macpherson's *James the Second*, p. 49.)

† The men who had in 1668 successfully engineered the downfall of Clarendon, were "so encouraged, that they believed they should carry all before them; and jealous that the Duke of York might cross their designs sooner or later, and that he would not forgive them what they had done to Chancellor Hyde, did all they could to misrepresent him to the King, and to make the King jealous of him. And, not prevailing with the King, who knew his brother too well, they did all they could to provoke the Duke to do some warm thing even to them, that they might have a subject to complain of him. They endeavoured to mortify him several ways. Some of their friends talked of taking the Admiralty from him, his troop of Horse guards and regiment of Foot; and, by underhand means, endeavoured to persuade the king to be divorced from the Queen as barren, and get another wife. They discoursed with lawyers about it, and got divines to write of its lawfulness," &c. (Macpherson's *James the Second*, p. 44.)

CHAPTER XI

WITH the gradual establishment of a Standing Army it was natural that the question of the housing of the troops should quickly assert itself as a problem to be solved. In default of the modern system of barracks the alternative lay between housing the soldiers at inns and taverns, and quartering them on private citizens. Small wonder if the latter course was thoroughly detested by those who were liable to so serious an imposition. Deep as was the public dislike of a Standing Army, this particular grievance against the system was perhaps the one which was most keenly felt and most bitterly resented. The following billeting order of Charles the Second will serve as a specimen of this class of document :—

You are with our troop of our Regiment of Horse under the command of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor A. Earl of Oxford forthwith to march to our town of Sowold [Southwold] in Suffolk and to quarter them there and in the town and places adjacent in some victualling houses, taverns and all houses. But for want of quarters enough in such houses to quarter them in other houses until further orders. You are to be careful your soldiers behave civilly and duly pay their quarters. 6 Ap. 1672.

To Sir Francis Compton or the Officer in Ch.
commanding his Troop at Huntingdon.

The Life Guards, entrusted with the personal safety of the Sovereign, were of course stationed in London. In May, 1670, their quarters were as follows :—

The First or King's troop was housed in the Strand, the back-side of St. Clement's, Drury Lane, Holborn, St. Giles's, Gray's Inn, Long Acre, Covent Garden and St. Martin's Lane. The Second or Queen's

troop was quartered in Horseferry [where Lambeth Bridge now is],* Mill Bank, Peter Street, Stable Yard, Petty France [now York Street, Westminster], and St. James's Street. The Duke of York's troop had its quarters in Tothill Street, King Street, Charing Cross (except the "Chequer"† and "Star" Inns, "reserved for Orderlie men"), Haymarket, St. James's Market, and Piccadilly. (*Cannon.*)

The results of a system of this kind were such as might have been anticipated amongst both the officers and the private gentlemen, who were frequently engaged either in duels amongst themselves or in stand-up fights with outsiders. A few instances may be cited in illustration.

As early as 1661 a petition is presented by Elizabeth Thompson on behalf of her son William, "one of the Life Guard, lately slain, that no pardon may be granted to Capt. Salisbury who provoked him to a duel by impairing the honour of the Scottish nation, slew him and left him on the field and fled." The coroner's verdict—urges the petitioner—had been one of wilful murder, and "the duel was not only against Statute but against proclamation." Her son had served as serjeant in the Life Guard, and been taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester.

In November, 1666, a warrant is issued against Charles Titford and J. Goodyer for assaulting Bray, one of the Life Guards. In these affrays the Guards were sometimes the victims of violence. In succeeding years the state of matters became worse :—

1671, March 10th. William Barage petitions the King that he may not be branded in the hand. Copy enclosed of the record of his trial that day at the Old Bailey, as accessory to murder of Edward Conquest,

* 1668. "A Bill for his Grace the Duke of Albermarle for ferreinge over his Majesty's Guards of Horse at Lambeth Ferry from the 29th September 1668 to the 29th September 1669," amounts to £3 16s. 2d. It is signed "Hen. Monck, J. Godolphin," and approved for payment by the Duke of Albemarle.

† The Chequer Inn, Charing Cross, was reserved for the orderly men of the Blues to "waite in for orders," and was therefore immune from any other billeting requirements for officers or troopers. (*W. O. Class 26, No. 3.*)

one of the Life Guards, on January 13th, shewing he was found guilty of manslaughter and pleaded his clergy. On March 20th he was pardoned.

In 1679, under date of Tuesday, November 4th, a newspaper records:—

On Sunday last in the Evening, Mr. Francis Martin one of H.M.'s Horse Guards, and a Gentleman named Mr. John Syon, being in company together at the Black Spread Eagle Tavern, in Gray's-inn-Lane in Holbourn, and having drunk very highly the L. G'man began Healths. But upon this high words arose betwixt them, and they went into Cunny Court in Gray's Inn and fought, where Mr. Martin killed Mr. Syon who was carried into the Porter's Lodge of the said inn. The Life Guard Man is not as yet taken.

Again, under date of Friday, November 7th:—

The Quarrel which happened between Mr Martin and Mr Syon on Sunday last was not so much upon the account of drinking as upon Mr Martin's promise to surrender him his place of riding in the Guard with his Accouterment in consideration of the payment of £80 and after preparation was made Mr Martin would not take less than £100, which caused the difference.

Even the seconds were apt to pick up the quarrel of their principals:—

1679, Tuesday, March 2nd. Duel between Sir W. Poulteneys son and Col. Warcups son. Seconds Mr Aglethorpe* and Mr Henry Wharton. The principals were unhurt but both seconds were wounded, Aglethorpe slightly, Wharton dangerously.

1682. At a duel fought between the second Duke of Albemarle and Lord Gray the seconds were Sir Walter Clarges, described as "a very valiant man," and Captain Godfrey. The Captain disarmed Sir Walter, "who then coming in to the principall," the Duke surrendered his sword.

Of this duel O. Wynne writes to Lord Preston:—

There happened an ill-favoured incident this morning. The Duke of Albemarle and Sir Wm. Clarges fought against Lord Grey and Capt. Godfrey. We don't know yet how His Majesty will resent this.

His Majesty's disapproval of duelling amongst his Horse

* Apparently for Oglethorpe. For Colonel Theophilus Oglethorpe *vide* CHAPTER XIX.

Guards did not suffice to arrest the practice, but a royal domain, such as Windsor or St. James's Park, was recognised as inviolable :—

1684, May 8th. Some words happening at the Tennis Court, Windsor, between Colonel Orpe,* one of the Lieutenants of Horse Guards, and the brother to Sir J. Trelawney, the latter challenged the other by a whisper in the ear. So they both went into the Park, where Colonel Orpe was unwilling to draw, thinking it unbecoming in that place, but was pressed into it by Mr. Trelawney.

1699, February 18th. Two gentlemen quarrelling in St. James' Park were taken into custody at the H. Gds. (*Flying Post.*)

Another typical case is on record :—

1679, December 9th. A Sergeant of the City Militia going the rounds with two files of Musqueteers was met by a Life Guard Man who insolently said. Stand Who comes there? The Sergeant on the contrary bade him Stand, asking who comes there. Upon which the Life Guard Man swearing and cursing offered to strike the Sergeant, but the Sergeant knocked him down with his halbert; and secured him in the Counter. Next morning being had before the Lord Mayor he was severely checked for his insolent behaviour and ordered that he should not only pay his fees but likewise for his Oathes.

In the following narrative it is difficult to avoid the supposition that certain leading facts have been omitted. So inconsequential a story, to say the least, seems to need a little elucidation :—

On Sunday night last one Mr Remington who lived in the Turnstile by Moorgate, being in company with a Life Guard Man at the Star Tavern in Coleman Street, the Life Guard Man offered to whisper with Mr Remington but instead of whispering bit his nose off. We do not know if the Life Guard man is taken but it is thought when he is taken it will cost him his life, his crime being within the Statute against Dismemberment [*i.e.*, the Coventry Act.].

The public prints of the period amply illustrate the state of things :—

1681, April 15th, London. Three gentlemen of the Guards—one of the King's troop and two of the Queen's—being drinking in a House in the Haymarket about 10 at night some Words arose between two of

* Col. Orpe is the Major Charles Orby of CHAPTER XX., note.

them insomuch that they fell to blows: but being parted one of them which had challenged the other was shut out of the room who waiting some time without the unconcerned person went out to persuade him to be quiet: but all in vain for he drew his sword and the other following drew also his, whereupon they made several passes and wounded one another. But M^r Price wounded M^r Loggins so deep that he broke his sword in his very back bone, whereupon M^r Loggins retreated into the House and fell down. M^r Price, thinking he had killed him, fell down also crying out "He hath killed me" whereupon the crowd immediately pressed into the house to look after the other which M^r Price perceiving, he immediately rose and made his escape though much wounded.

The invention of the new term, "Oliverian," made a striking and serviceable addition to the vocabulary of hostile invective:—

1682, November 16th. "The *Loyal Protestant and True Domestic Intelligencer*, Thursday.—Last week two of the Kings Horse Guards fell out upon the guard and were so high in words that the one called the other Oliverian and said he was a Souldier in Scotland, in the time of Oliver; and much more abusive language; for which reason on Monday (as an example) he was turned out at the head of the Troop."

Indiscipline bore fruit not only in fights but in unprovoked outrage:—

1679, Friday, January 9th. A gentleman who by his name should be a Frenchman, and hath been long in H.M.'s Guards, did the same night, with other Company, attempt to force into a House (of no very good Reputation) in or about Leicester fields, but the lady denied them admittance, whereupon they stormed the house with such violence that the besieged made their defence with Muskets and the Frenchman was unhappily shot in the head and though not dead yet there is little hope of his Life.

The punishment of a private gentleman, when contrasted with leniency shown to the Duke of Monmouth, illustrates the differential treatment of the proverbial goose and gander:—

[In November, 1666] M. Marquis, one of the R. Life Guards, was committed to the King's Bench for beating the Constable of St. Clement Danes, the Lord Chief Justice declaring that he would acquaint the Lord General with the matter, so that M. Marquis might be turned out of the Guards. The Lord Chamberlain and Lord Crofts would acquaint the King himself, as the matter appeared very foul.

Sometimes the unfortunate Horse Guards are unjustly accused.

1680, March 16th. On Saturday last Mr De la Noy's maid was tried at the Assizes at Kingstone for the County of Surrey for firing her master's house near London Bridge, of which she was found guilty having formerly confessed the fact: but the Life Guard Man whom she accused not only to have hired her to do it, but also to have been actually concerned in firing the house, was acquitted: he produced several substantial witnesses to prove where he was those hours; the Maid deposed he was with her aiding and contriving this Hellish piece of villainy.

With reference to the famous attempt to kidnap the Duke of Ormond, a grave charge is brought against a Life Guardsman. The accusation is set forth in 1670 on the information of one Thomas Peachey, to the effect that, having presented a sword to a certain Henry Davis, formerly one of the Guard in the Queen's Troop, he now identifies it as in his belief the same as the one taken from the man who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Ormond. The carbine, however, is not the one lent by Peachey to Davis. Peachey was happily able to acknowledge himself mistaken, and it is satisfactory to note that the Life Guardsman is cleared of so serious a charge, Peachey writing on December 30th, 1670, to Williamson:—

I find that H. Davis, one of Her M. Guard whom I suspected of having had a hand in the horrid business connected with the Duke of Ormonde, is no such person; for he has the sword and carbine I gave and lent him.

Do not inform Davis that I have given information against him.

A sensational newspaper report of a burglary brought temporary discredit on the Queen's Troop:—

1681, Friday, April 15th. Three of the Queen's Guards were arrested by Captain Richardson Keeper of Newgate, one escaped, and such revelations were made as caused others to be looked for. The Robbery of which they are suspected was committed at a gentleman's house in Essex from whence as it is reported, they took to the value of £2250 in Money, Plate, and Jewels. After they had bound the gentleman and all his family they made a strict search, notwithstanding which

they missed the Booty of a considerable sum in gold. 'Tis thought they will not be tried here, but at Chelmsford, near which place the Fact was committed.

Another account of the same incident adds some un-called-for innuendoes :—

1681, April 15th. Captain Richardson, keeper of Newgate, being informed that some of the Queen's Guards had robbed upon the highway went to Sir Philipp Howard and acquainted him therewith, who ordered them to be seized, some of them having as 'tis thought intimation to abscond. Three were apprehended, after which one of the three made his escape, but two of them are committed close Prisoners in Newgate one of which 'tis said has made such a discovery as hath occasioned search to be made for several more.

It is satisfactory to find the unjustly aspersed honour of the corps promptly vindicated :—

1681, April 19th. There having been published a false account by B H on Friday last, of the apprehending of 3 Highway men who happened to be of the King's Guards, wherein he would suggest that there were many more of the Guards concerned with them & that upon intimation given did abscond. It's thought fit to give this true account which was that a notorious Highway-man having been recently taken did impeach several of his accomplices among whom were Gray, Young & Husbands, & no more of the guards, the rest being citizens & others. These 3 were committed to Newgate at the instance of Sir P Howard. One was rescued by the crowd whom he had told that he was being arrested by bailiffs, & by the help of the Watermen at York Friars escaped.

That the Blues, though stationed at York, and removed from the temptations of the metropolis, were not immune from indiscipline, is shown by documentary evidence. T. Mascall in 1668 writes to Williamson :—

On Tuesday several of Lord Frescheville troop had a venison feast at the Golden Lion, when a quarrel arose between J. Swan one of the troop lately come in and Capt. Hodge one of the corporals. They went into the garden and drew upon one another and Hodge was slain —it was concealed for 4 hours and as the author is not to be found, the coroner has adjourned the verdict till Oct^r.

Lord Fretchville, writing to Lord Arlington a little later, recounts the particulars of this quarrel, accusing

Swan of having come specially to affront Hodge, and so forth, and asking for Hodge's release.

An alleged assault by a Blue is the subject of a petition in 1668, recorded in Lord Montagu's papers :—

To HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ALBERMARLE.

The humble petition of Thomas Poole
Sheweth

That your petitioner, now is, & for some tyme past hath beene employed as Gaugor for His Majesty's Excize at Guilford in the County of Surrey, & being lately in the Execution of his said office was violently assaulted & beaten and abused by John Crowder one of his majesties Trumpeters belonging to the Lord Hawley's Troope, who then alsoe used many Execrable oaths to bee the death of your Petitioner & made two severall passes against him with his naked Rapier, To the exceeding great Damage of your Petitioner, who by the said outragious actions of the said Crowder is Letted & hindered from his said Employment, and dayly goes in Danger of his Life.

(The premisses considered) Your Petitioner humbly prays your Grace That you would bee pleased to take such order with the said Crowder for your petitioners safe & quyett execution of his said office as to your Grace shall seeme meet

And your petitioner shall ever pray &c.

Cockpitt 6 July 1668.

I referr it to Captaine Morley or in his absence to Cornet Weld to examin this busines and certify mee how they finde it, And they are to take care that the petitioner bee not interrupted or hindered from goeng about the publicque busines in which hee is imploied.

ALBERMARLE.

In 1670 Alexander Nowell, "a soldier in Lord Oxford's Regiment," was sent to gaol as one of a gang of thieves.

Under the date of Friday, December 5th, 1679, we read :—

On Monday last was a hearing before the Earl of Oxford and others constituted to determine a difference between two Lieutenants who quarrelled upon the Guard, they being gaming, the one upon a very slight occasion drew his sword and ran the other through the coat, but they were parted. It was found that the Assaultant was a very quarrelsome person, and that he had lately killed another person upon a sleight occasion ; he was suspended his Employ and the other acquitted.

The obvious and only remedy for similar disorders was to provide some sort of equivalent for the modern barrack

accommodation. An idea of this kind had taken root in 1679. The Blues as we shall later have occasion to note* were assigned quarters in Somerset House. A newspaper of August 19th, 1679, records that "His Majesty has lately ordered the fitting up of the Savoy in the Strand for a Regiment of Foot Soldiers and it is designed that Stables shall be built for the Horse in Leicester Fields and Hyde Park."

It would appear that the Horse Grenadiers were specially provided for :—

1683, August 28th. Whereas we have sometime past given order for lodging part of our Horse Guards within our Mewes our will and pleasure is that officers and soldiers shall upon notice hereof remove from hence and we hereby order that you forthwith prepare lodging for our three troopes of Grenadiers consisting of Two hundred & twenty two officers & soldiers with convenient stabling for their horses and that you thereupon admit them into our said Mewes.

To the Comm' prosecuting the office of Master of our Horse.

The existing arrangements for the Guard were miserable. Lilley under date of January 2nd, 1662, writes :—

To Whitehall to the Gatehouse. I was had into the Guard-room which I thought to be hell : some therein were sleeping, others swearing, others smoking tobacco. In the chimney of the room I believe there was two bushels of broken tobacco-pipes, almost half one load of ashes. (*Life of Lilley*, by Ashmole.)

Barrack accommodation was provided only very gradually. In 1697 it was not sufficient for more than 5,000 infantry. In 1718 provision was made of "five beds for ten men in as little room as can be well allowed," the cost to be at £12 per man. Compare with this the building of Chelsea barracks at an estimated cost—inclusive of ground value, but exclusive of furniture—of £255 per man !

Not wholly irrelevant to the subject of military indiscipline is that of the exemption of soldiers from the action

* See CHAPTER XIV., p. 135.

of the ordinary law. A matter which presented considerable difficulties was the recovery by law of debts due from soldiers, whose liability to arrest for debt was from a public point of view adjudged undesirable. The Crown in the exercise of its prerogative could—on the debtor's suit of its protection—grant exemption from arrest for debt. For the recovery of a debt due, whether from an officer or from a soldier, a remedy had first to be sought at the hands of the Judge Advocate General before resort to a common law Court* :—

WHITEHALL, 14 March, 1669. Upon the humble petition of Edward Smith concerning a debt of £20 & upwards alleged to be due to him by Sir T^s Sandys;† H.M. is pleased to refer it to the Duke of Monmouth to consider of this petition, & if His Grace finds the debt to be justly due, to cause Sir T. Sandys to satisfy the same within a reasonable limit of time or otherwise to report the true state of the case to His Maj^y. (Misc. Bk. 512, p. 8.)

On September 4th, 1672, Lord Arlington writes to his "very worthy friends" Sir R. Clayton and Sir J. Moore, Knights, Sheriffs of the City of London :—

Complaint hath been made to His Maj. that one of your Sergeants at Mace hath presumed (contrary to cutm) so to arrest & carry one Samuel Belgrave, of H.R.H. the Duke of York's troop of H.M. Horse Guards under Marquis Blanquefort's command, to the Counter without the consent or privity of any of his officers who never fail (upon complaints of debts) to execute H.M. pleasure in causing the soldiers to make satisfaction or in leaving them to the law. H.M. hath commanded me to signify that it may be very prejudicial to H.M. Service & to the public peace if soldiers be put in prison without the consent of their officers, who can take others into their places when they find any shelter themselves in the Guards to avoid payment of their debts. H.M. refers it to you to give meet redress and release unto the prisoner. (Misc. Bk. 512, p. 394.)

An intimate and obvious connection exists between the soldier's discipline and the soldier's pay. It may be taken

* *W. O. Records*, March 14th, 1669; February 15th, 1674-5; January 21st, 1675-6; September 4th, 1692.

† Of the First (or King's) Troop.

as a safe axiom that irregularity of remuneration will result in irregularity of conduct. A Government that neglects to provide for the sufficient and punctual payment of its soldiers will also be negligent of their condition generally, and of their orderly discipline in particular.

During the earlier years of its existence, the English standing army suffered in both these respects. Thus in 1679 Sir John Hinton, physician, in a memorial addressed to Charles the Second says, "At the latter end of the Plague, the Duke of Albemarle informed me that he daily expected the Army would mutiny for want of pay, and that without some supply it was impossible to prevent it, and therefore desired me to help him with five hundred pounds, for he was forced to borrow of every gentleman that came near him." No doubt Parliamentary dislike of a permanent military force dictated a penurious and shifty policy as to the pay of the Army ; though something also is to be set down to official corruption and lax management. The case of William Carr, already referred to, is no unfair example of the state of things which obtained at this period as the natural result of the questionable methods adopted by the executive for paying the soldiers. One such method is naïvely admitted in the following instance :—

1667, January. Petition of R. Ernington, one of the troop of Guards, to obtain £38 7s. employed in travelling to Holyhead to apprehend two suspicious persons sailing for Ireland. He has only £5 of the prisoners' money, and is liable for £8 14s., which they left unpaid at Beaumaris Gaol. The petition is refused on the ground that "the petitioner got the money found about the prisoners, which was thought to be his proper right."

Not infrequently an officer or a soldier, on ascertaining that somebody had died without leaving kin to claim his property, would apply to the Crown for leave to appropriate the same. For example in 1670 Captain John Gwyn, in petitioning for employment in the Life Guards

as Sub-brigadier, incidentally makes request to be “endowed with the money and moveables of John Ashley, (of the royal troop of Guards) and his wife, who have no kin to claim the little they had.” At other times, instead of direct money payments, the management of a lottery—of course as a monopoly—would be granted. The existence of this practice, with its conditions and limitations, is illustrated by such entries as the following:—

1668, December 4th. Draft for a clause agreed upon by the trustees [for the Management of the Lottery] to be added to their patent, admitting to its benefits those who were first elected by the officers for managing the grant, and those reformed officers now riding in the Horse Guards. [This clause was added in February, 1669.]

1669, January 13th. Licence to Sir T. Sandys [of the Life Guards] and other trustees of indigent loyal officers, to hold one or more plate lotteries, anywhere in the kingdom, for 6 years, with prohibition to all others; those only to receive the benefit who served the late king,—excluding from benefit, Managers of the Grant, and those who ride in the King's Guard.

Christopher Bray's was a peculiar case. Though he had brought his trouble on himself, he unaccountably conceives he has some ground for complaint:—

1665, December. Petition of Christopher Bray to Lord Arlington for 14 weeks arrears of pay in the Life Guards. Lord Gerard has his horse and arms.

1666. Petition of Christopher Bray for “fulfilment of His M^r late promise to give him a horse, or money to buy one, being disabled by death of his horse from serving in the Life Guard.”

1666, April. Petition of Christopher Bray for “payment of arrears of pay as a Horse Guard, which was detained during his imprisonment for killing Grimes in a quarrel, for which he has had the King's pardon, and has meanwhile lost his horse.”

In each of the eight troops of the Blues the Colonel had the privilege of keeping two places vacant and of himself appropriating the pay, amounting to more than £14 a week:—

Warrant to the Duke of Albemarle to allow Aubrey Earl of Oxford to reserve to himself 2 pays out of each troop of the regiment of horse under his command.

When Lord Gerard relinquishes his distinguished command, he is solaced with a pension over and above the valuable favours already bestowed on him. The pension is to be "secured on the customs" !

Almost endless are the expedients for rewarding military service otherwise than by paying for it in hard cash. Thus Thomas Watson in 1666 petitions for leave to own a tavern in York. His case is that he "served eight months in the Life Guard, but being ill, was dismissed without recompense, and has since been in Lord Fetchville's troop."

Lord Fetchville himself, holding the distinguished command of the Blues at York, clings to the opinion that the labourer is worthy of his hire. In 1669-70 he petitions, not for an increase of pay properly so-called, but "for a sum to be charged on the Queen's portion in Portugal (though this is already heavily charged). His expenses at York much exceed his pay as Capt. of horse. He thinks H.M. does not wish him to serve in constant military duty at his own expense."

There can be no doubt that Lord Fetchville correctly represents His Majesty's wishes on this point, for, whatever may have been the shortcomings in military pay, they were not due to any royal stinginess. When he had the means, the King could be generous to his Guards. In January, 1668, a royal warrant authorises the Treasury Commissioners to issue to Sir Stephen Fox, the Paymaster, six days' pay—above what was due at the time of the reduction—to 100 men from each of the three troops of Horse Guards who have been disbanded to retrench expenses.

The system of drawing full military pay while specially employed on non-military service seems to have been approved. In April, 1663, was issued a "Warrant to the Commissary Gen. of Musters, for Francis Watson, Quartermaster in the Troop of Guards commanded by

Sir P. Howard to have his full pay while absent with Charles Earl of Carlisle on his Embassy to Russia."

In another case Sir Philip Howard was persuaded to let a Life Guardsman go to sea and "save [*i.e.*, retain] his pay in the guards."

A single instance of the methods of rewarding military service is doubtless typical:—

1661. Petition of Capt. George Carey for the additional place of sixth Searcher in the Customs; served during the late wars, and in the Life Guards since the restoration till the last reduction, which has deprived him of employment.

There follows a certificate by Sir H. Carey and four others in favour of the application.

A certain grim satisfaction is to be derived from the fact that, if the pledged word of Edward Lloyd, of Salop, may be accepted, peculation was not confined to the executive of the restored monarchical *régime*. Mr. Lloyd petitions in 1661 for a commission to recover money raised by the "pretended charity of Cromwell for the poor Protestants of Piedmont, with design to raise himself with Protestants abroad, and thereby strengthen his faction. Part of the money was sent to Piedmont, and the rest converted to his (Cromwell's) own use, or that of his faction's instruments, and no account given of it."

Lloyd had raised two troops of horse for Charles the First, and had also commanded in the Life Guards.

The gentlemen of the Life Guards were in some respects closely looked after. Even when your Life Guardsman had secured his pay, he was liable to find himself called to account before his superior officer with respect to his purely domestic arrangements for spending it:—

Eliz. wife of Wm. Houghton of Lord Gerard's troop of Life Guards. Asks for decision of disputes between herself and husband; married him for liking without consent of her mother, thereby lessening her own fortune; but altho' he has £80 a year besides his salary, he has left her in great distress. (*Dom. S. P.*)

CHAPTER XII

THE Life Guards and the Royal Regiment of Horse were well represented on the army council which the King created in 1670, and to which were appointed the Dukes of York and Monmouth, the Earls of Oxford and Craven, and five others.

With the outbreak of another of the seemingly purposeless wars which mark Charles the Second's reign, the functions both of His Majesty's Life Guard and of his Royal Regiment of Horse received an important extension. The second war with Holland, begun in 1672, was the occasion for their first employment on foreign service.*

* To the Eighth Troop of the Blues, under the command of Rowland Selby, its Lieutenant, fell the unpleasant duty of capturing soldiers whom the distastefulness of foreign service tempted to become deserters :—

[1672.]

“SIR

“I have received orders for the speedie marching away with the Companies under my Comand to Dover that they may be shipped for France, & I understand that there is alsoe orders sent to you to send Partyes abroad, to apprehend such of our Foote Soldiers as shall run away from their colours. I have therefore resolv'd to march to-morrow morneing by eight of the clock at the farthest, If you please therefore for the better performing his Majesties Comandes, to be here at that time with your whole Troope, or a good Party out of it you may prevent a disorder & very much oblige

“Your Humble Servant

“T. DANIELL.

“December 25th 72.”

[On the same paper :—]

SIR,

“I will meet you torow (*sic*) at the townes end with the men that

A detachment of fifty private gentlemen out of each of the three troops of the Life Guards, under the command of Lord Duras (Marquis de Blanquefort), afterwards created Earl of Feversham, formed the nucleus of a larger force which the Duke of Monmouth* took over to France, arriving at the French camp near Charleroi on May 1st.

Holland, called upon to withstand a strong coalition, was at the outset easily worsted. Louis Quatorze sent 20,000 men to blockade Maastricht, while he himself, accompanied by Monmouth and the British contingent, marched to the Rhine. His army, having within two months reduced the Rhine fortresses and taken Utrecht, returned to Flanders, where towards the end of July a halt was called for active work until the spring of the following year. The Life Guards being quartered near Paris, the British commander went homewards, and remained in England for the next ten months.

It was April, 1673, before Monmouth rejoined the British contingent, when he received from the French king the rank of Lieutenant General. Near Courtenay are heer. you wold dooe well to send one to Bawton to cause them be ready to March with you.

“ I am

“ Your Servant,

“ R. SELBY.”

(*Lord Montagu's Unpublished Papers.*)

* 1671-2, January 17th. Whitehall. Warrants for mustering Lt.-Col. Piercy Kirke as Capt.-Lieut. of Lord Oxford's Troop, with his servant, and Ferd. Littleton Lieut. of Lord Frescheville's Troop with two men, in the Earl of Oxford's Regt., during their absence in France as volunteers with the Duke of Monmouth.

1672. Whitehall. Captain Bagot Fortescue to be mustered as Lieutenant while on leave to serve the most Christian King in the Duke of Monmouth's regiment.

1672, April 12th. Whitehall. Warrant for mustering Capt. F. Wattson, Cornet of the Queen's Troop, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, during his absence as a Volunteer with the Duke of Monmouth in France.

the English force took part in a military show for the delectation of the Queen and the Court ladies. After this the combined force got to business and marched to Maastricht, which was invested on June 7th, to the Duke of Monmouth with 8,000 horse and foot being assigned the siege operations on one side of the beleaguered city. On the 17th the trenches were opened. The operations are thus described by the Special Correspondent of the period :—

MAESTRICHT, 12th June, 1673.

The King, with most of the cavalry and about 4,000 or 5,000 Foot, arrived before the place on Saturday last about noon, having marched seven leagues that morning. In the afternoon his Majesty traced the lines of circumvallation on this side of the River, and gave the Cavalry their several Grounds, and left intervals for the Foot. His Majesty was upon that they call the Fleet all night ; all the squadrons being on horseback, yesterday early in the morning the Infantry and Artillery joined the Camp.

The Bridge of Communication was made yesterday, and a Camp formed on the other side of the River, which the Duke of Orleans commands. The King has given the Duke of Monmouth the command of half the Great Line on this side, which contains 8,000 Horse and Foot and was a post of very great consequence.

A subsequent despatch details the sequel :—

FROM CAMP BEFORE MAESTRICHT, June 27th, 1673.

On Saturday the 24th inst. his Grace the Duke of Monmouth came upon Duty with orders from the King [Louis XIV.] to make a Lodgement upon the Counterscarp ; and to that end, four several attacks were ordered to be made : one, which was a false one, by Monsieur on the side of Wyck ; another by Monsieur Montal on this side the river towards the left hand, and the two others by the Duke of Monmouth. The one was for diversion only towards the right hand over against the Green Half Moon ; and the main attack where the Duke was in person. . . .

On the Duke of Monmouth's side there mounted the Trenches that night the King's Regiment of Foot under the command of Monsieur de Monbrun, and the King's Musketeers commanded by Monsieur D'Artagnan, consisting of 100 young gentlemen, who were designed to give the onset, the King being in Person at the end of the trenches to observe the conduct of the whole action.

Upon the signal given our men immediately sallied, some fell to work on the Pallisadoes, others threw Grenadoes, and the rest made a perpetual fire with their muskets which were not ill answered by the enemy. Our men breaking through all opposition began to lodge themselves on the Counterscarp; this success made them advance further and attempt the outward Half-Moon which was before the Brussels Gate, which they carried after a brisk dispute of about half an hour, the enemy besides employing all the ordinary means of defence, blowing up two Fourneaux, though without any great effect; our men having lodged themselves on their new acquisition, several prisoners were brought away to the number of fourscore amongst which was a Lieutenant Colonel reformed of Spanish regiment.

In the mean time our men continued their works to make a communication between the trenches and the Half-Moon, whilst the enemy retrenched themselves on the other end of it. In working we discovered a Mine on the left hand, and one man ready to set fire to it, who was killed by one of the Duke's Servants and the powder taken away.

Before day the line of communication was finished between the Half-Moon and the lodgement upon the Counterscarp, when on a Sudden a mine sprung on the right hand (by which a Captain, an Ensign, and 50 soldiers were killed) and immediately the Enemy made a Sally, which they did with so great surprise and in that number that it was not possible for the Guards which were for the defence of the Workmen to withstand the chocq, but were forced to give ground; whereupon his Grace sent away a party of the King's Musketeers that were designed for the defence of his person, to go and make good that post; but the Enemy had already made themselves Masters of the Half-Moon and were not to be easily dislodged, but had prevailed so far as to bring the whole in question; which his Grace perceiving, sent to the King for fresh supplies and himself with a few Voluntiers, the King of Great Britain's subjects, which were not above twelve in all, leaped over the Trench, and through a storm of shot that fell on all sides he marched with all the speed he could to the Half-Moon, passing through a Sally-Port of the enemy's, and so all along within twenty yards of their Palasadoes, being followed by Monsieur D'Artagnan and the King's Musqueters.

The Soldiers were now quitting their post, not being longer able to maintain it, when the Duke's presence encouraged them to return, which they did with new vigour, and, being followed by what force could be rallied up in the trenches, the Enemy was the second time beaten off, and his Grace again made master of the Half-Moon, which he delivered up to Monsieur de la Feuillade who came to relieve him at the ordinary hour.

In these attacks several men were killed and wounded; and amongst those some persons of note—Sir Henry Jones, Colonel of the English

Regiment of Light Horse, who on this occasion waited on his Grace as a Voluntier, [and] Monsieur d'Artagnan, that commanded the King's Muskettiers, who behaved themselves very well, and were most killed or wounded. The King hath given Sir Henry Jones his regiment to the Duke.

The French monarch had viewed the battle from a neighbouring hill. The garrison, after a brief negotiation, surrendered the town on July 2nd. It has been proposed to identify the twelve British volunteers who accompanied the Duke of Monmouth on his plucky exploit with the twelve gentlemen described in a royal order of May 20th, 1674, as "of the party of Our Guards that were under the Lord Duras his command in Ffrance" for whose use twelve carbines were to be issued. The identification is extremely probable, and the names of these twelve brave men are as follows:—Mr. Turberville, Mr. Greene, Mr. Segar, Mr. Elyott, Mr. Moulton, Mr. Herasworth, Mr. Pursell, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Neres, Mr. Pope, Mr. Throckmorton, and Mr. Barrow. While an isolated feat of this kind was, and is, a legitimate source of national pride, it has to be admitted that the campaign was a dead and dismal failure, William of Orange and his army being more than a match for the French and their British contingent. In February, 1674, peace was proclaimed, and the Life Guards' detachment, which out of its original total of 150 men had lost altogether 50, returned home by Dieppe.* The English army was at this time being reduced, and the loss of the 50 Life Guards was not formally made good. But, as has been already noted, it had been more than counter-balanced by anticipation, the net gain in the strength of the corps being 100 men.

* 1674. March. Lord Duras is commanded to bring home from France his troop which was taken out of His Majesty's Guards, but he intends himself to accompany the French campaign during the summer. (*Hist. MSS., S. H. Le Fleming.*)

The reductions seriously affected the Royal Regiment of Horse, Lord Oxford issuing the following order, preserved among Lord Montagu's papers :—

[1674.]

In pursuance with His Majestie's orders directed unto mee bearing date this present day, you are forthwith to issue out commands to the respective Captaines of the Troopes of the Royall Regiment of Horse under my command that they disband each of them tenne Troopers out of the severall Troopes of the said Regiment with what convenient despatch may be reserving for His Majesties use those mens' proportions of the armes offensive & defensive, & and the backs breasts & potts delivered out of the stores for the use of the said Troopers which their Officers are to accompt for and deliver to the Officers of his Majestie's Ordinance or whom they shall appoint. You are further to send an Officer to Sir Stephen Fox for monies to pay them off, who will satisfy to the Officers what wil be due to the said tenn souldiers of Each Troop until the 6th day of April next inclusive when their pay is to cease & determine, you are further to send orders to the Officers of each Troop in the first place to satisfy out of those monies what the souldiers of their respective troopes so to be disbanded shall then owe at their quarters, & to pay the residue to the disbanded Troopers though they be disbanded before the said sixth day of Aprill to defray their charges home to their former places of abode to which the officers are to give them passes to retorne for doing which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand this 24th day of March 1673/4

OXFORD.

To Sir Edward Brett
performing at present the duty
of Major of the Royall Regiment under
my command.

My LORD,

This is a true Copy of my Lord of Oxford's order to mee which you are punctually to observe,

I am

Your Lordship's most humble Servant
E. BRETT.

For my Lord Hawley or the Officer in
Chiefe with his Majestie's troop
under his Lordshipps command
at Canterbury.

[Endorsed :—] My Lord Hawley.

While carrying out his orders to the letter, Lord Oxford

endeavoured to secure that his Regiment should suffer the minimum of injury from a policy which personally he deprecated. By reducing the number of non-effectives he was enforcing a wholesome reform with respect to soldier-servants which is not inappropriate to the present day. Now as then it is desirable that the "staff" of a regiment should be as small as possible, and that all able-bodied men should be *bona fide* "duty" men. It is to be borne in mind that soldiers in Lord Oxford's regiment were mustered and acted as servants to various N.C.O.'s and troopers:—

SIR,

According to the orders & instructions given mee by his Majestie, I have thought it necessary that you should send a further direction to the Captaines & other Officers commanding the Troopes at present that they take care that such souldiers be disbanded before others that through any default or inability appeare the least serviceable to the Troop. In particular I would have no servants to any but Commission Officers be kept on, nor any that depend on anything but their meritt, & the good discharge of their duty. This will make the diminising of or number the less hurtfull to the regiment & therefore it is the more strictly enjoyned at this time by Sir

your very humble servant
OXFORD.

27 March 1674.

for Sir Edward Brett these,

This is a true Copy of the Earle of Oxfords
order to mee.

E. BRETT.

for the Lord Hawley or the officer in Chiefe with his
Lordship's troope at Canterbury.

The transition from war to peace marked the resumption by the Life Guards of their original and ordinary escort duties. The King, having rebuilt at Newmarket the house erected by his grandfather, was in the habit of taking with him a detachment of Life Guards whenever he attended the races. The same rule obtained at Hampton Court or Windsor, on the Court being removed thither. Annexed is a specimen order of June, 1675,

regulating the duties of the Life Guards and of "Oxford's Blues" respectively :—

CHARLES R.

Most deare and most entirely beloved sonn, Wee greete to meet you well, in regard of Our intention shortly to remove, with Our Court to Our Castle of Windsor, for some time. Wee have thought fitt, and doe hereby signifie to you Our will and pleasure, that you give order for a Lieutenant, Cornett, Quarter Master, and sixty Gentlemen of Our owne troope of Our Horse Guards under your command ; for a Lieutenant and sixty Gentlemen of Our most deare Consort the Queen's troope of Our Horse Guards, under the command of Our trusty and wel beloved Sir Philip Howard Knt. ; and for the Guidon and sixty gentlemen of Our most deare and most entirely beloved brother James Duke of Yorke's troope of Our Horse Guards, under the command of Louis Lord Duras, Barron of Holdenby (which numbers respectively are to be effective) to be in a readyness to march with their horses and armes (uppon notice from you), in such proportions as you shall appoint, to attend Us when Wee shall remove Our Court as aforesaid ; and that you in the meantime send the said Quarter-Master of Our owne Troope of Guards under your Command, to take upp quarters at Egham, Staines, Oakingham, and Chertsey, in innes, victualling-houses, taverns, brandy-houses, and ale-houses, in which the Officers are, upon Our goeing to Windsor, to quarter them accordingly ; and it is Our further will and pleasure that y^e said Quarter-Master take upp the next one or two innes to Our Castle of Windsor, that may serve for the accommodation of the Officers and fifty gentlemen of the said troopes, who shall be from time to time upon the guard, and for orderly men of severall troopes of Our owne Reg^t of Horse, under the command of Our right trusty and right welbeloved cousin and councel^r Aubrey Earle of Oxford, who shall attend you for orders, in which they are to quarter accordingly, the Quarter Master being to acquaint Our harbingers with it, who are to admitt thereof: and soe wee bid you most heartily farewell. Given, [&c.]

After a couple of months of this duty these 180 Life Guards with their officers were relieved by another detachment of like numbers.

Then as now one of the chief functions of the Troops of the Life Guards was mounting guard at Whitehall. Each Troop consisted of four squadrons of 50 gentlemen each, two of which mounted the guard at Whitehall one day in six, being relieved in their turns. Besides this continuous duty there was

the supply of occasional detachments to Portsmouth, and elsewhere. For instance, in October, 1677, the Guards were sent to Harwich to meet the Prince of Orange and bring him to the King at Newmarket; and, as a matter of course, they took a prominent part at the marriage, shortly afterwards, of the Prince with the Duke of York's daughter, the Princess Mary. But, above all, there was laid on the Life Guards the primary obligation of maintaining a special and constant watch over the persons of the King and Queen, whose escort usually consisted of 180 gentlemen—that is, 60 from each troop. In 1678 there was a still more particular responsibility of "attendance on the King's Person on foot, wheresoever he walks, from his rising to his going to bed; and this is performed by one of the three Captains, who always waits immediately next to the King's own person, before all others, carrying in his hand an ebony staff or truncheon, with a gold head,* engraved with His Majesty's cypher and crown"—whence the designation Gold-Stick-in-Waiting—"near him also attends another principal Commissioned Officer, with an ebony staff and silver head"—afterwards styled the Silver-Stick-in-Waiting—"who is ready to relieve the Captain on occasions," etc.†

By 1678 the time was adjudged to be propitious for

* 1679, January 7th. Mons. S. Gille Vannier to be paid his bill for a gold stick for the captain of the Horse Guards, which he carries when he waites upon His Majesty £22 7s. For three sticks more with ivory heads for the other officers £2.

† Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, quoted in full in CHAPTER XLI., APPENDIX B. The substance of the Royal Order is embodied in the Standing Orders of the Second Life Guards, where, by an obvious clerical error, the date of the Royal Order establishing the Gold and the Silver Stick is given as "1578." It should of course be 1678. The error is of some importance as affecting Lord Esher's Report of 1889 on the precedence of the Silver Stick: see CHAPTER LXXII.

"In the Queen's bedchamber after supper, we of the Bedchamber, and my Lord Dover as Captain of the Life Guards, had admittance." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 159).

varying or supplementing the foolishness of the recent hostilities against Holland with the further foolishness of a war with France. By special resolution of Parliament a million sterling was granted to the Crown, and the army was raised to 30,000 men, a number of the corporals and private gentlemen of the troops of Horse Guards receiving commissions in various regiments. But the war of 1678 is chiefly memorable in the annals of the corps from the important addition made to its strength in the shape of a division of Mounted Granadeers* attached to each of the three troops of Life Guards—namely, one Captain, two Lieutenants, three Sergeants, three Corporals, two drummers, two hautboys, and eighty private gentlemen to the King's Troop: to the Queen's and Duke of York's respectively one Captain, two Lieutenants, two Sergeants, two Corporals, two hautboys, and sixty private gentlemen. The junior subaltern was a Lieutenant, not a Cornet, by reason of no standards being borne.

The Horse Granadeers in the field acted as mounted infantry.† They “dismounted, linked their horses, fired, screwed their daggers into the muzzles of their fusils, charged, returned their daggers, fired and threw their grenades by ranks, the centre and rear ranks advancing in succession through the intervals between the file leaders. They then grounded their arms, went to the right about, and dispersed; and at the preparative or beating to arms they fell in with a huzza. They then slung their fusils,

* This is the original spelling, which accords with the etymology. From the Spanish *grana* (“grain”) is formed *granada* (“pomegranate”), *granado* (“full of seeds,” hence “a grenade”), and *granadero* (“grenadier”).

† Sir Ralph Verney, writing in 1680, was evidently unfamiliar with the Horse Grenadeers' mode of fighting:—“I do not understand How the Granadiers can Doe any considerable Execution with fflying Hand Granadoes on Horseback w^{ch} makes me wonder that his Majesty can have so great a ffancy for that sort of soulđiering.” (*Memoirs of the Verney Family.*)

marched to their horses, unlinked and mounted, after which they fired their pistols and muskets on horseback."* Their equipment included a hatchet, a cartridge or ammunition box, and a grenade pouch.

On the subject of grenades Mr. B. E. Sargeaunt, Assistant-Curator of the Royal United Service Museum, Whitehall, observes:—

Grenades have at different times been made of such materials as glass, wood, bronze, and gun-metal, and it has not always been customary to make these missiles in a spherical form. They have been found cubical in shape, to possess the advantage of resting in security on the edge of a rampart or a vessel's gunwale. The spherical grenade was most common, and was used extensively on land and in naval action throughout the eighteenth century, and was re-introduced on shore in the recent Russo-Japanese war. Though this form of missile was actually employed in the fifteenth century, it was not in common use until the seventeenth, when companies of Grenadiers were formed in France in 1670, and in England a few years later. †

At a review held on Hounslow Heath the Life Guards were accompanied by their Granadeers. An anti-militarist agitation in Parliament in 1679 procured the disbandment of the Horse Granadeers in January, 1680, but preparations were already being made in 1682 to restore them. Luttrell suggests that "His Majesty intends to raise three troops of Granadeers more for the ease of his horse guards; and the officers thereof that were lately disbanded have offered to raise them at their own charges, which will save his Majestie £1500."

The year 1683‡ witnessed a continually growing public apprehension for the personal safety of the Sovereign—

* *Treatise on Military Discipline*, 1684.

† *Household Brigade Magazine*, January, 1909, p. 364.

‡ There is a warrant dated from Windsor on August 26th, 1683, for "Arms for Three Troops of Granadiers which we have lately thought fit to raise, to be delivered to Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, Captain of our Horse Guard. Sixty-six cases of Pistols for each troop." A further warrant was issued on the following 26th of January for "hand grenades and fuzes."

on grounds presently to be considered. Hence in 1684 the King—whether he shared these fears or not—utilised the opportunity to augment the strength of his Horse Guards, a division of Mounted Granadeers being again added to the establishment of each Troop of Life Guards, consisting of two lieutenants at 8s. per diem, two serjeants at 4s., two corporals at 3s., and four hautboys, two drummers, and sixty-four granadeers at 2s. 6d. The newly-appointed Officers to the Horse Granadeers were Captain John Parker and Captain Thomas Gay, lieutenants of the King's Troop; Captain Richard Potter and Captain Robert Dixon, lieutenants of the Queen's Troop; and Anthony Heyford and John Vaughan, lieutenants of the Duke of York's Troop. In 1693 the three detachments of Horse Granadeers were amalgamated into one independent Troop. In 1702 a Troop of Mounted Granadeers was raised at Edinburgh and attached to the Scots Troop of Life Guards. Men of exceptional stature and physique were usually selected for service as Horse Granadeers.

Chamberlayne (*Angliae Notitia*), writing in 1679, when the old Cavalier gentlemen formerly in the Life Guards had been retired on pensions, describes the corps as composed of 600 "young gentlemen of very considerable families, who are there made fit for military commands." The First or King's Troop was distinguished by its blue ribbons and carbine-belts and red hooses, the colours of the Second or Queen's and the Third or Duke of York's Troops being green and yellow respectively. In 1679 the "table expenses" of the officers of the Life Guards in attendance on His Majesty were defrayed at the public cost by the Paymaster-General. A warrant of September 8th, signed by Monmouth, requires the latter to "pay unto Widdow Anne Bowers or whom shee shall appoint, the sume of twenty-five pounds foure shillings, the same being due unto her for provideing of victualls for

one officer at a time of His Ma^{ts} three troopes of Horse Guards, that dayly attended on His Ma^{ts} from the 30th of March, 1678-9, inclusive, to the 1st of June excl^e, being sixty-three days, at eight shillings per diem." In 1680 an order was made for payment to Adam Lockett, gent. of £48 8s., "the same being due unto him for provideing of victualls for three officers at a time, of the 3 Troopes of Our Horse Guards that daily attend on us, from the first of January 1679 to the first of May 1680 enclusiv^e, being 121 days at 8s. per diem." Another order directs the payment of £98 for an eight months' supply, at 8s. a day, to the officers of the three troops. An allowance of 8s. a day, in lieu of this payment, was afterwards made.

In 1679, a seditious rising of Scottish Covenanters, who had murdered in cold blood Archbishop Sharpe of St. Andrews, and succeeded in repulsing the troops sent against them, was suppressed by Monmouth, who amongst other forces had with him the Scots Troop of Life Guards. The King also issued warrants for the raising of three additional troops of Horse Grenadeers, but the order was shortly after countermanded.

It is abundantly evident that throughout the whole of Charles the Second's reign the growth of a standing army was regarded with general dislike and suspicion. Various motives impelled the House of Commons to object to any increase of the armed forces of the Crown. There was the memory of the Cromwellian tyranny; there was the dread that a permanent force would make the King independent of Parliament; there was the fear—which at last became hysterical—of a return to "Popery."

The protests of Parliament were repeatedly made to appear at least partially effective. On various occasions troops were disbanded in deference to the House of Commons, only however to be re-constituted at the first

convenient opportunity. The Guards were at first few in number ; then men were added imperceptibly to a troop ; then new troops were created. In 1674, after peace had been concluded with Holland, the Commons proceeded with their "Quest of Grievances," the strongest objection being raised to the standing army, inclusive even of the Guards. The following eight reasons were framed for breaking them up :—

1. That according to the laws of the land the King hath no guards but those called gentlemen pensioners, and the Yeomen of the Guard.
2. That ever since this Parliament, although there have been so many sessions, they never settled the Life Guard by Act of Parliament —nay, they have been so far from it, that whensoever they have been so much as mentioned in the House of Commons, they would never in the least take any favourable notice of them, always looking upon them as a number of men unlawfully assembled, and in no respect fit to be the least countenanced by the Parliament of England.
3. That they are a vast charge to the King and kingdom.
4. That they are altogether useless to this kingdom, as doth plainly appear by His Majesty's most happy and peaceable reign since his blessed Restoration ; there being so much mutual love, confidence and trust between His Majesty and his good people, which is daily manifested by His Majesty exposing his sacred person to the people without a guard.
5. That Guards or Standing Armies are only in use where princes govern by fear, rather than by love, as in France, where the Government is arbitrary.
6. That this Life Guard is a Standing Army in disguise, and that, as long as they continue, the roots of a Standing Army will remain among us ; and therefore it is impossible effectually to deliver this nation from a standing army till these Guards are plucked up by the roots.
7. That the Life Guard is a place of refuge and retreat for Papists and men popishly affected, and a school and nursery for men of debauched and arbitrary principles, and favourers of the French Government, as did plainly appear in the case of Sir John Coventry.
8. That, if the Life Guard were disbanded, the King would thereby save some Hundreds of Thousands of Pounds per annum, which would in a few years enable him to pay his debts, without burdening his good people with taxes to that end.

The writer of a pamphlet, *The Magistracy and Government of England Vindicated*, says :—

That as the Guards are not recognised by Statute, an attack on them is not unlawful, and further that it will be easier matter to find a

world in the Moon, than that the law has made the Guards a lawful force, or any statute that has established any force particularly for the guard of the King's person.

Charles got his own way really because the anti-military objections of Parliament, however plausible, were based upon an estimate of things which was already obsolescent. The irresistible progress of events in Europe rendered a standing army necessary for this country, while the good sense of the nation by degrees devised a system under which the existence of a permanent force could be reconciled with constitutional government and the liberty of the subject. That the King, shrewd as he was, foresaw the process by which this end was destined to be reached, is of course unlikely. But he had instinctively grasped the fact that the preservation of public order can be ensured only if the executive be able to rely in the ultimate resort on military force. That the state of the kingdom was throughout the whole of his reign so unsettled as to demand stringent precautions against a renewal of attempts at revolution and regicide, is not to be doubted. The enemies of the monarchy were as well aware of this fact as its friends.* The Life Guards and the Royal Regiment of Horse may be truly said to have formed a first line of defence against lawlessness and anarchy.

* Threats were made that "if the King does not consent to certain Acts of Parliament, etc., they were to purge the Court and Guards of several persons, Lord Faversham, Lord Worcester, etc." Shaftesbury is reported to have said "Little good was to be had from the King so long as his Guards were about him, for, if it were not for them, we would quickly go down to Whitehall, and obtain what terms we thought fit." As will be seen later, it was part of the Rye-House plot to make an attack on the Guards.

APPENDIX

1671. SUBJOINED is an abbreviated account, taken from the official records of Lincoln's Inn, of a royal banquet held in this year, in which the Life Guards took part:—

On the 29th February the King accompanied by the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, and attended by a large suite, and escorted by the Horse Guards, dined at Lincolns Inn on the invitation of Sir Francis Goodericke, the Solicitor General to the Duke of York. “ His Majestie made his entrance through the garden, at the Great Gate opening into Chancery Lane next to Holborne, where Mr Reader and the rest of the Benchers and associates awaited his coming and attended His Majestie up the Tarras Walke, next the field and soe through the garden, the trumpetts and kettledrums from the leads sounding all the while.” At dinner in the hall, “ His Majestie was served by the Reader as server upon his knee with the towel before he did eat, His Royal Highnesse sitting at his right hand. The Dukes and lords after some tyme of waiting had leave to sitt downe to dinnar, at tables prepared for them on each side of the hall. The Reader and some of the Benchers waited as Controllers of the hall; about fifty barristers attended as waiters carrying up His Majesties meat which was served on the knee, the rest of the barristers and students waiting upon the lords at their table. . . . The gentlemen of the Horse Guards dined in the old Councill Chamber, the Yeomen of the Guards in Mr. Daly's chamber and the coachmen and lacquies in the Gardeners house, to all their contentment.”

CHAPTER XIII

THE Earl of Oxford's Regiment continued for many years to fill the position and to discharge the functions assigned to it during the earliest period of its history. Its several troops were wellnigh ubiquitous, and their services to the cause of order continuous and valuable. Two localities were nearly always held by troops of this Regiment : York, where Lord Fretchville's was quartered for a number of years, and Southwark,* which was generally occupied either by Lord Oxford's or by the King's troop. The latter, when not at Southwark, was not far off—usually in Kent. Canterbury and Maidstone were seldom without a troop of the Blues.† The following eight documents, extracted from Lord Montagu's unpublished papers, serve to illustrate the doings of the King's Own Troop, commanded by Lord Hawley, during the years 1672-6. The first two relate to deserters :—

[1672.]

You are from time to time to cause parties of our Troope of Horse under your command in our Regiment of Horse Guards & commanded by our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Counsellor

* 1663, May 5th. A muster regulation orders that when the Blues are quartered at Southwark the pay of the troopers is to be raised 8d. per diem.

† 1672. The Earl of Winchilsea, Lord Lieutenant of Kent, writes to Lord Arlington :—" I am drawing a troop of horse thither (Margate). Lord Hawley's troop is now at Canterbury. I hope they have orders to obey my directions. If not, I beseech you to represent it to His Majesty, and I wish likewise His Majesty would spare me one troop more."

Aubrey Earle of Oxford, to Scout about the Roades for the finding out of Stragling Soldiers & such as runn away from their Companies which straggling & runaway soldiers, the said parties are to apprehend, and cause them to be sent in safe custody to our City of Rochester & delivered to our trusty & welbeloved Colonell Sir Charles Lyttleton or other Officer in Chief, commanding our forces there, who will secure the said Stragling & Runaway Soldiers till our further pleasure shall be knowne. And you are to cause this duty to be continued untill the Companies about Canterbury & those parts shall be shipped for their transportation beyond the seas. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 24th day of December 1672.

By His Majesties Command.

ARLINGTON.

To our rt trusty & welbeloved Francis Lord Hawley or the Officer in Chief Commanding our abovesaid troope at their Present Quarters.

Hawley's Troope to send out parties for apprehending stragling and Runaway soldiers.

[1673.]

CHARLES R.

You are with Our Own Troope (of Our Regiment of Horse guards, Commanded by our right trusty & right welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor, Aubrey Earle of Oxford) forthwith to march from your present Quarters to our City of Canterbury to be assisting to our trusty and welbeloved Colonell Sir William Lockhart* & the Officers of his Regiment in the apprehending & secureing such soldiers of the said Regiment, as have been or shall be disobedient to their Officers upon their Orders to march towards the waterside for their embarqueing on Shippboard & transportation beyond the seas, according to our Orders in that behalf, in order to the bringing such Offenders to Condigne punishment for such their mutiny and disobedience.†

* Sir William Lockhart, who commanded a regiment of Foot, was equally distinguished as soldier, statesman, and diplomatist, and was as great a favourite of Charles the Second as he had formerly been of Cromwell, whose niece he married.

† Eleven months earlier, in December, 1672, Lockhart's men had shown a disposition to mutiny. Lockhart sought the Blues' aid, but, on finding his men in a better mood, wrote to cancel his request:—

"I gave you the trouble of a line this morneing desiring you might doe me the favour to march this way with my Lord Hully's [Hawley's, *i.e.* the King's] troope, but some of the companies being under their armes this morneing, I finde them in so good temper and that readines to serve his Majesty, where he shall please to command them, as I doe not judg it now necessary to give so many worthie gentellmen as your Troope consists of the unnecessary trouble

And untill the said Regiment shall be shipp'd You & our said Troope are to be assisting to the said Colonell according as hee shall direct for the more effectuall performance of that our service.

Soe long as you shall be upon this service you are to Quarter our said Troope in such townes & places as the said S^r William Lockhart shall thinke most convenient, in Innes and Victualling Houses, wherein all our Officers & Constables whom it may concern are hereby required to be assisting. And you are to be careful that the Soldiers behave themselves civilly and duly pay their quarters, & when the said Regiment shall be shipped you are to returne to your former Quarters. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 12th day of November, 1673.

By his Majesties Comands

ARLINGTON.

To our right trusty & welbeloved Francis Lord Hawley, or the Officer in Chiefe Comanding our owne Troope of Horse, at their quarters at Ash, Wingham, Littleborne & Sandwich.

For the Lord Hawley's troope to assist Sir William Lockhart in the marching & shipping his regiment and secureing mutiners.*

of so ill a March therefore Sir, returneing you many thanks for the favour you intended me, I desire you may be please to remain undisturbed in your Quarters & am with very great respect & esteeme

“Sir,

“Your most humble & Obedient Servant

“WILL. LOCKHART.”

[In different handwriting.]

“My Lord Lockhart
“formerly Governor
“of Dunkerk
“12th Dec 1672”

[Endorsed :—]

“For the much hon'red Cornett Wynd Cornett to His Majesties Troope in the Earl of Oxfordes Regiment of Horse att Wingham.”

“Sir Will. Lokar letter”

[Wm. Wind, Winde, or Wynd, cornet King's Own Troop Blues 1667, lieut. '76, capt. of a new troop for service in Jersey '78—9, & addressed “captain” while acting capt. of K. O. tp. in '81, but is in '87 entered as lieut. in Sir John Parsons's tp.]

* In Queen Anne's reign, thirty-six years later, a precisely similar task was assigned to the Blues :—

“25 March 1709. Whereas my Lord Sunderland hath this day received a letter from my Lord High admirall informing him that a Drummer and thirty seven men of Capt. Hancocks Compy in Col. Churchill Regt. of Marines who were to have marched the 22nd from

The next three Orders relate to the removal of the King's Own Troop, under Lord Hawley's command, to new quarters :—

[1673.]

CHARLES R.

You are with Our Owne Troupe of our Regiment of Horse Guards under the Command of Our right trusty & right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor Aubrey Earle of Oxford forthwith to march from your present Quarters to our Townes of Ash, Wingham, Little Burne, and Sandwich, in our County of Kent & Quarter there untill further order. And wee hereby require all Our Officers and Constables whom it may concern to be assisting to you in the Quartering of our said Troope in Innes, Tavernes, & Victualling houses in our said Townes of Ash, Wingham, Little Burne, & Sandwich, And you are to be careful that the Soldiers behave themselves Civilly & duly Pay their Quarters. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 13th day of October 1673.

By His Majesties Command.

ARLINGTON.

To our right trusty & welbeloved Francis Lord Hawley, Or the Officer in Chiefe Commanding Our Own Troope of Horse under his Comand.

[Endorsed :—] Order for the Lord Hawley's troope, to remoueve and Quarter at Ash, Wingham, Littleburne & Sandwich.

[1674.]

CHARLES R.

You are with Our Owne Troupe under your Command (in our Regiment of Horse Guards Commanded by Our right trusty & well-beloved Cousin and Councillour, Aubrey Earle of Oxford) to march

Havant to Portsmouth to embarque, which said Drummer and thirty seven men mutinied and marched towards Petersfield on their way to London as is supposed, you are to march in quest of the said mutineers and make the best enquiry after them you can and to pursue them with the utmost diligence by dividing the troop into such partys and at such places as you shall judge most convenient, and to secure such mutineers or as many as you shall have notice of and march with them to London. Her Majesty has sent her order with duplicate instructions to the Commanding officer with the troop at Reading with whom you are to consult. Lastly. In case you shall be informed that the said mutineers have taken any other road than that of London, you are to pursue them in like manner until you shall apprehend and secure them." (*Marching Orders.*)

from your present Quarters to our Burrough of Southwarke soe as to be there on Tuesday the 25th of this instant August, To Releive your Colonell's Troope of Our said Regiment now Quartered there, and you are to Quarter Our said Troope in our Burrough and Parishes of Southwark & in our Towne of Lambeth untill further Order, Upon your march & at your said designed Quarters the Officers are to Quarter Our said Troope in Innes, Tavernes, & Victualling Houses. Wherein all Our Officers & Constables whom it may concerne are hereby required to be Assisting, And you are to be carefull that the Soldiers behave themselves Civilly & duly pay their Quarters. And in case you shall think it convenient to have a Carriage for carrying the necessaries of Our said Troope to their Quarters aforesaid, Wee also require our Officers & Constables whom it may Concerne to Imprest one Waggon or other Carriage with Horses to it, upon their march aforesaid, At Our usuall Rate of six Penie a mile for each Carriage which you are duly to cause to be satisfied, at the Charge of Our said Troope, & not to deteyne any such Carriage longer than for one day. Given at our Court at WyndSOR the 15th day of August, 1674.

By his Majesties Comands

ARLINGTON.

To Our right trusty & welbeloved Francis Lord Hawley or the Officer in Chiefe Commanding Our said Troope at their present Quarters at Brainford.

For your Majestie's Troope under the Lord Hawley's Command to Releive the Earle of Oxford's Troope in South Warke on the 25th instant.

[Endorsed:—] Order for his Majesty's Troope Commanded by the Lord Hawley to Releive the Earle of Oxford's Troope in Southwarke on 25 August 1674.

[1676.]

It is His Majesties Pleasure That you with his Majesties Troope under your Command, of his Majesties Regiment of Horse Guards, doe forthwith march from your present Quarters to the City of Canterbury & that you quarter the saide troope in Canterbury, & in the Villages adjaceant in Innes, Tavernes, & Victualling-houses untill further Orders. And it is his Majesties further pleasure that all His Majesties Officers and Constables whom it may concerne be assisting in the Quartering the said Troope upon their march (if there shall be occasion) & at their said designed Quarters accordingly. And that you be carefull the soldiers behave themselves Civilly & duly Pay their Quarters. In case you shall think it convenient to have a Carriage for carrying the necessaries of the said Troope to their said designed Quarters It is likewise his Majesties Pleasure that all the said Officers & Constables be required in his Majesties Name to Imprest one

Waggon or other Carriage with Horses to it upon their march aforesaid at his Majesties usuall Rate of six penie a Mile for such Carriage, which you are duely to cause to be paid at the Charge of the said Troope & not to deteyne any one Carriage longer than for one dayes march.

Given under my hand the 27th day of November 1676.

MONMOUTH.

To the Right Honourable Francis Lord Hawley
or the Officer in chiefe commanding (in his
Absence) his Majesties Troope of Horse at
their Quarters in Dartford.

[Endorsed :—] Order for the Lord Hawley's
Troope to remove from Dartford to Canterbury
with the Clause for Impresting Carriages.

A royal order addressed to the King's Own Troop
of the Blues directs its commander, under the date
of Michaelmas, 1674, to place himself under the com-
mand of the Earl of Craven, Colonel of the Coldstream
Guards :—

CHARLES R.

Our Will & Pleasure is that dureing our absence from hence you
with your Troope of our Regiment of Horse under the command of our
right trusty & right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Aubrey Earle
of Oxford shall observe such orders as you shall receive from our right
trusty & right well-beloved Cousin & Councillor William Earle of
Craven. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 29th day of Sept. 1674.

By his Majestie's Command

J. WILLIAMSON.

To our right trusty and welbeloved Francis
Lord Hawley or the Officer in Chiefe com-
manding our owne Troope under his com-
mand in our Regiment above mentioned.

[Endorsed :—] Order to the Lord Hawley's
Troope to observe the Earle of Craven's
orders dureing his Majestie's absence.

The following is signed by Captain W. Legge,* who in

* Wm. Legge, lieut. the Admiral's regt. 1666, ensign Barbados
regt. '67, cornet E. of Oxford's regt. '74, capt. '76, lt.-col. Lanier's horse
'85, gov. of Kinsale '86. Younger bro. of Geo. 1st Baron Dartmouth.
Had been successively page and groom of the bedchamber.

1676 took over from Lord Hawley the command of the King's Own Troop :—

[1676.]

SIR

My Lord Hawley and I having concluded and having my commission I have sente downe the clarke Mr. Townsend to take an account of what is due in the quarters and I desire you to speake to the mayor that nothing may be Conseled for I am not to be anserabell for anything but from the furst of this month : Sir I intent to be downe on Wensday or Thursday the bearer will resolve you when the commissary will be downe in the meane time I desier you will beleve me your frind and Sarvant

W. LEGGE.

I heare thare some that have run out more then is due to them whic I think fitt to be deschared
[sic].

[Endorsed :—] For Leftenant Winde at his quarters in Canterbury.

Capt. Legge.

In 1682 Lord Oxford's troop is summoned from Portsmouth to Chichester at the urgent request of the Bishop of that See :—

1682, August. "Sir Ch Windham, Blues, now quartered at Greenwich & Deptford sets out on Tuesday next with his Troop for Portsmouth to relieve another Troop which has been there some time."

That the latter was Lord Oxford's appears from the following entry :—

1682, September 9. *London Mercury* :—"The Lord of Oxford's Tp. lately from Portsmouth is now at Chichester at the request of the Bishop of that place, who accounts himself not safe otherwise, and therefore desired that favour of His Majesty. . . . The Sheriff of Hampshire, when the King was at Winchester, having not an opportunity by reason of the King's short stay there to treat the Guards, gave them £10 to drink."

Lord Montagu's papers shed further light on the subject at a later period. In 1684 the King's Own Troop is found at Kingston :—

Thursday May the 8th, 1684.

To Captain Legg or in his absence to the Officer in chief commanding his Majesties Troop in my Lord of Oxford's regiment quartering at Kingston.

You are to send two parties by eight of the clock to morrow morning at farthest to attend His Royall Highness, the one at Putnee & to carry him to Richmond Ferry, & the other to be at the other side of Richmond ferry to carry him from thence to a green by Belfonds where they carried him last.

ALBERMARLE.

Kingston the 8 of Maye 1684 resaued this order
att $\frac{1}{4}$ past six in the evening.

W. WINDE.

Almost immediately afterwards the Troop is ordered to Portsmouth :—

CHARLES R.

Our Will & Pleasure is that you cause Our own Troop whereof Our Trusty & Well beloved William Legg Esq is Captain to March on the 29th of this instant June from Kingston to Guildford the next day to Petersfield & the day following to Our Garrison of Portsmouth where they are to relieve our Troop whereof you are Captain, & to remain there untill further order during which time Our said Troop is to observe such Directions as they shall receive from the Governor of our said Garrison, or other the Officer in Chief commanding there. And the Officers are to take care that the Soldiers duly pay their Landlords & behave themselves civilly upon their March. Given att our Court at Windsor the 22nd day of June 1684.

by His Majesties Command

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

To Our Right Trusty & Right Well-beloved Cousin & Councillor Aubrey Earle of Oxford Collonel of our Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, Or in his absence to Capt. William Legg or the Officer in Chief commanding that Troop.

[Endorsed :—] Captain Legg to relieve the Earle of Oxford's Troop att Portsmouth.

CHAPTER XIV

AS we have seen, the army reductions of 1674 affected the Royal Regiment to the extent that ten men out of each of its eight troops were disbanded. The projected war with France—which, however, failed to eventuate—sent up the strength of the Blues, whose establishment was again raised to sixty men per troop. Captain Winde was ordered to Jersey with sixty horse, of whom thirty belonged to the Royal Regiment. Their stay in Jersey is illustrated by several letters* in Lord Montagu's papers, which also record their disbandment. As usual, disbandment was the cause of much suffering to those who were thus deprived of their means of livelihood. A petition of nineteen “reduced gentlemen who served under Sir Thomas Morgan in

* [? 1678.]

SIR

I resolved this day to waite on you; and have the honour to kisse my Governours hands; But the froward weather prevents me of that happiness to my great regret. Sir at Diner I am resolved to drinke my Governours, yours & all the honest Shavers good healths in the best liquor I have, with hearty wishes to the increase of happinesse to all you honest Shavers. And I assure you, Sir that I am

Sir

Your humble Servant

ALEX LUNSFORD

The She Shavers
present you with
their services.

[Endorsed :—] For my honoured friend Capt Winde.

[1678.]

SIR

I would gladly Speake with you this morning at the Castle if your

Jersey" represents to the King that in expectation of war with France they were "drawn out of the Earl of Oxford's troop and sent to Jersey, venturing life and fortune" in His Majesty's service, but that, "being lately reduced by his orders, they lie at great charges." They beg for re-admission to the King's service.

convenience will Serve about some earnest bussines. I shall not need to ad farther but that I am

Sir

Yor very loving Friend

and Humble Servant

Castle Elisabeth,

the 18th of Dec 1678

THO. MORGAN.

[Endorsed:—] For my assured friend Cap^{tn} Wind.

[1678.]

Permit the Bearer M^r Richard Cobbet one of the Gentlemen of Capt Wind's Troop in this Island Quietly to passe unto London about his lawful occasions, and to returne to the said Troop in this Island within five Weeks next after the Date heirof, Wind and Weather serving Without Lett trouble or molestation Given under my hand and seale at his Majesties Castle Elisabeth the twenty forth day of July 1678.

THO. MORGAN

To all whome these
may concerne—

These are at the request of M^r Richard Cobbet above named to Certifie that hee Came to this towne on the 28th December last Southampton the 6th of january 167⁸₉

ADM D. CARDONNEL.

Expyred the 25 of August

5

4

—

9 weekes

27—absent

—

18 weekes.

[1678.]

SIR

I desire you to come into the Castle on Thursday morning before the Bridge shutt, for the bridge will shutt between eight & nine in the morning And I desire that you'll signify soe much to M^r Samaris and

In order to give a connected narrative of the Royal Regiment of Horse during the next few years, it is to the Cornet & Quarter Masters. I shall not need to adde farther but that I am

Sir

Your very loving friend & humble
Servant

Castle Elisabeth the

24th day of Dec 1678.

[Endorsed:—] Sir Thomas Morgan.

Feb. 24. 78.

THO. MORGAN.

For my assured friend
Capt Wind.
These

[1679.]

S^r

I shall desire you to send that turbulent Butcher to me together with his accusation & I shall secure him till Munday, for till then I cannot assemble the Officers together. You'll be pleased to give orders to Your Cornet & Quarter Masters to be here likewise with your selfe on Munday morning betimes. I am full of bussines that I cannot attend that till Munday. I shall not need to ad farther but that I am

Sir

Yor very loving friend &
humble Servant,

Castle Elisabeth

THO: MORGAN.

the 7th of March 167 $\frac{8}{9}$

[1679.]

HONOURED SIR

I noe sooner proposd Your Request, but had as ready an answere, that he could not denye it, so that (if you thinke fitt) and I humbly conceive it necessary, that you make a vizett here at the bridg opening & then I hope to have it signd & am with all Respect

Sir

Your faythfull Servant

H. CARPENDER

Thursd. 10. March 167 $\frac{8}{9}$

The Governor is very weake

[Endorsed:—] For the Honoured Cap^o Winde

[1679.]

JERZY the 4th July 1679

Received then into his Majesties store in Castle Elisabeth by the

convenient to anticipate to some extent the course of events. Early in 1679, Whitehall Palace being under repair and the King and Queen in residence at Somerset House, a newspaper of January 5 says: "The Chappell at St. James's is preparing for the Queen, and so soon as the Holiadaies are over Her Majesty leaves Sommerset House, and the Earl of Oxford's Regiment will be put into it." The item of intelligence that in the autumn of the same year the Blues "began their march towards the north, in order to their attendance upon His Royal Highness as far as the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed" has reference to the Duke of York's honourable exile as Scottish Viceroy, the particulars of which will be described later. To the same occasion belongs the following entry:—

The Duke of York proceeded thither in great state, being escorted by the King's Troop under Captain Legg to Grantham, thence to York by the Lord Oxford's Troop, and from York Lord Fretchville's Troop were the escort until met by the Guards from Edinburgh.

In 1681, when Parliament was to meet at Oxford, there being some reason to apprehend violence to His Majesty's person, he was escorted thither by a stronger detachment than usual of the Life Guards, while the greater part of the Royal Regiment of Horse was detailed to protect the roads and secure the King's return.* The Regiment, after being for years scattered about the country in separate troops,

hands of Captain Hill Quartermaster to Captain William Winds Troop lately disbanded in this Island, fifty-six head peeces, fifty nine backs & Breasts, fifty Carbines & twenty-three belts.

I say received by me

CHARLES HUGHES storekeeper.

Memorandum.

That Mr Griffith Bowen } drawne out of the Kings Troop, had
and M^r Matthew Mayne } no Arms in Jerzey, to be delivered up.

* [1681.]

SIR

OXFORD Monday Noone.

pray get every thing ready for marching to-morrow morning by day-breake and lett an account of the quarters be made aganest I come

was henceforth to act more as one unit, and, as already stated,* an Adjutant was appointed in 1684. It took part in the review held on Putney Heath by the King on October 1st, of which mention is made in a subsequent chapter.†

Its constant and many-sided activities under able and vigilant commanders, and its ever-widening experiences of service under varied conditions, must in the course of years have brought the Royal Regiment of Horse into a condition of the highest efficiency. So, at any rate, thought Edmund Verney, who writes from France on January 22nd, 1676, to Sir Ralph Verney: "It is pretty to see the Dolphin exercise his 2,500 *noblesse*, but I believe 500 of my Lord of Oxford's Regiment will beate and route them all."

which shall be by 7 o'clock this night & will bring mony with me wich is all from your

Sarvant

W. LEGGE.

Thame

March the 26. 1681

Parliment helde at Oxford
this yeare.

[Endorsed:—] For Capt Wind at Tame
presents.

[1681.]

SIR

you must march on winsday to charnberg to be with the King on Thursday morning att Burford your way is by Witby bridge & so to Isilp & so to Charnberg whare I will mete you we shall be out but tow nites so that you nede not bring any lugage but pray take care that those men that are not abill to mont have men in thare places that we may be as strong as we can wich is all till I see you from your

frind & Sarvant

Thame

W. LEGGE.

March the 29. 1681

[Endorsed:—] For Chapt. Wind att his quarters
att Tame.

Present.

* See CHAPTERS III., p. 29, and VIII., p. 67.

† See CHAPTER XVII., p. 157.

CHAPTER XV

THE nation's almost morbid dread of Popery, to which reference has already been made, was in 1678 to be exploited by Titus Oates and his blood-curdling revelations of a pretended plot. The ground was already favourable to the fructification of this noxious seed.

As early as March, 1673, the King had, "at the humble suit and address" of both Houses of Parliament, commanded the Commissaries-General of the Musters, on penalty of losing their places, not to permit any officer to be mustered until he should have taken the oaths of allegiance and received the Blessed Sacrament. Further, every private soldier was to take the oath of allegiance at the first muster, and receive the Holy Sacrament before the second muster.

In December, 1674, a very drastic order was issued from Whitehall:—

Whereas His Majesty was pleased the 14 of November last, to declare in Council His Royal Pleasure, that no person who is a Popish Recusant or Reputed Popish Recusant should presume after the 18th day of the said month of November to come into his Majesty's Royal presence, or to his palace or to the place where his Court should be—His Majesty did this day farther declare in Council, that his intentions were, and accordingly his Pleasure is that no Popish Recusant, or Reputed Popish Recusant do presume to come into S^t James' House or into S^t James' Park the same being part of and annexed to his Majesty's Palace at Whitehall.

The anti-popish scare of 1678 had as one of its results the adoption of fresh precautions for the personal safety of the King. A captain, a subaltern, and two corporals

were in orders to attend his Majesty whenever he walked out, "and the captain also within doors," excepting in the royal bedchamber.

To this period belongs the institution of the Gold- and Silver-Sticks-in-Waiting, described in a preceding chapter.*

When the King went to Newmarket in the following autumn, His Majesty was attended not only by his Life Guards, but by the Horse Grenadiers.†

In 1678, the agitation, fed by Oates's successful imposture, gained in force and volume, and Monmouth's newly-found zeal for religion took the politic form of identifying himself with what seemed the dominant Protestant party. The King deemed it prudent to offer a sop to the militant fanaticism now rampant. Reluctantly, and in the form of an affectionate letter, Charles issued a written order to his brother to leave the Kingdom, and in April the Duke retired to Brussels, not however before he had obtained from the King an assurance that his rights as heir-presumptive to the Throne should be maintained unimpaired. Charles accordingly made before the Privy Council a solemn declaration that he had never been married to any woman but Queen Katharine.

On November 1st another stringent order was issued and addressed to the Duke of Monmouth:—

My dear and most intirely beloved sonn, wee greet you well. Wee doe hereby signify unto you our pleasure, That you forthwith give

* See CHAPTER XII., p. 116.

† "I desire you to furnish Brigadier-General Wood with a large tent or two capable to lodge fifty men, for y^e use of y^e Granadiers that are ordered to attend the King at Newmarkett. I am, Sir, y^r affect^{ate} Servant, MONMOUTH."

"I desire you will cause one hundred and fifty wheight of carbine bullets to be deliver'd to Serjeant Silver, for the use of the three troopes of granadeares that are to attend his Ma^{tie} at Newmarkett." Signed by Monmouth, and addressed to Chichely, Master-General of the Ordnance.

order for the displacing and turning out of their respective Employments not only out of our Guards of Horse & Foot, but also out of other our established Land Forces, all and every such officers and Soldiers as are Popish recusants, or have not returned such certificates as the Law requires of such Officers and Soldiers within the time limited for the same.

On the very next day it was further declared by the King in Council that “ Whosoever shall make discovery of any officers or soldiers of His Majesty’s Horse and Foot Guards, who, having formerly taken the Oaths of Allegiance, hath since been perverted to the Romish religion, or hear mass, shall have a reward of £20 for every such discovery.” (*London Gazette.*)

Shaftesbury and his confederates were now emboldened to take a further step. They obtained an Act for disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament. Their ultimate aim was the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. To frustrate this design the King acted with decision, and in January, 1679, dissolved the Parliament which had sat ever since the Restoration—a period of eighteen years.

The long-smouldering disaffection of the Scottish Covenanters, who were in league with the English republicans, now burst forth into a flame. Monmouth’s crushing defeat of the rebellion, of which an account has already been given, at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, fought on June 22nd, landed him at the height of his power in the State, while his politic clemency to the Scots prisoners immensely enhanced his personal popularity. His success in arms, and the well-deserved applause which greeted it, unhappily encouraged him in the bold design of succeeding his putative father on the Throne. His influence over the King is curiously exemplified by the appointment to responsible posts of his friends Lords Cavendish and Grey. On his return southward in July, Monmouth was received in England almost with the

honours of a Prince of the Blood, and the King greeted him effusively at Windsor.

Charles fell ill in August, and Monmouth, though his military duties lay in London, took care never to be long absent from the royal patient at Windsor. Meanwhile the Duke of York, to whom Feversham had secretly sent an express messenger, hastened home from abroad to his brother's sick bed, and received an affectionate welcome. The gravity of the political situation was obvious both to Charles and his Ministers. The continued absence of the heir to the Throne at such a time was highly undesirable, apart from the not unreal danger of his being detained abroad by force. Not less objectionable was the continued presence of a scheming pretender, whose pandering to Protestant panic-mongering had done much to make him popular, and who had under his command the military forces of the country.

Charles shortly recovered from his illness, and his native shrewdness at once got the better of his sentimental attachment to his supposititious son, to whose ambition he had no intention of sacrificing the rights of his brother. He decided, early in September, to require from Monmouth the resignation of his commission of Lord General,* and his withdrawal for a time from the kingdom.† As an

* CH. R.

Whereas we did some time ago constitute you Capt Generall of all our Land forces, & whereas we intend to revoak your commission of Capt. Generall as thinking it for our service at this time, we hereby require you to deliver up your commission & send it forthwith to us.
Sep: 12, 1679

James Duke of Monmouth

Master of our Horse.

† It is on record in September, 1679, that "the Duke of Monmouth lay on Wednesday night at Gravesend and departed on Thursday morning," and that he "took leave of His Majesty in Arlington Gardens, where the King told him his stay abroad should not be for long, and there writ an order for his departure with such pen, ink and

offset to this arrangement, the Duke of York was to go back to Brussels; but, on second thoughts, a request made by the Duke to be allowed to live in Scotland was readily agreed to as the best solution of a rather thorny problem. James fetched his Duchess* from Brussels, and then, leaving London on October 27th† and journeying slowly northwards, arrived as Lord High Commissioner early in December in Edinburgh, where he was received with every honour. He had been escorted on his way to the border, as already described, by three several troops of the Blues.

Monmouth, having in vain sought the royal permission to return, with a characteristic presumption on the King's favour as ignorant as it was insolent, immediately left his Dutch retreat, arriving in London at midnight on November 27th.‡ Charles, whose patience was at last exhausted, peremptorily refused him an audience, and commanded him instantly to quit the country. As Monmouth had the temerity to disobey this order, his punishment was both swift and severe. He was deprived of every office he held, Christopher, second Duke of Albemarle, being appointed in his room to be Captain-Commandant of the Life Guards.§

paper as the carpenter there at work could furnish him with." (*Hist. MSS., Sir H. Verney.*)

* His second wife, Mary of Modena.

† 1679, October 19th. "The Duke of York takes 400 of the Guards along with him into Scotland. Any who will be at £60 charge to equip and accouter himself for the service may be entertained for a supply to the Guards."

‡ James writes to Lord Dartmouth, December 6th, 1679:—"I see by other letters as well as by yours that the Duke of Monmouth continues doing things every day as occasion offers itself to exasperat His Majesty against him." (*Hist. MSS., Earl of Dartmouth.*)

§ "CH. R.

"To Duke of Albemarle

"Capt. of Guards

"We reposing our especiall trust in your loyalty and experience in military affairs doe hereby appoint you to be Captain of all the Guards of Horse, Life Guards of Horse levyed and raised and shall be levyed

Monmouth's confidant, Sir Thomas Armstrong, once a lieutenant in the Earl of Oxford's own Troop of the Blues, was at the same time dismissed the service.

There was no abatement, however, in the measures adopted against Popery. The new commandant of the Life Guards,* observes a contemporary record, "since he hath been Captain of the Guards, hath made a reform, putting out all Papists and others Popishly affected that he could find therein."

By special permission the Duke of York returned to London by sea in February, 1680, but in June he was presented by Shaftesbury and his friends as a Popish recusant. In August James went back to Scotland, but this did not prevent Halifax on November 4th from proposing his banishment from the realm. The Duke was again in England early in 1681, his brother despatching him to Scotland on the day before Parliament was to meet.

The High Commissioner kept a splendid Court at Holyrood, where he was attended by the Scots Life Guards, under the command of the Marquess of Montrose, and the citizens of Edinburgh were effusive in their loyalty. Meanwhile Parliament itself was rescued from the excited atmosphere of the metropolis, and summoned to assemble at Oxford.†

and raised to attend our person in that quality in the roome of James Duke of Monmouth. Giving you hereby authority to arme, traine, exercice, order and command them in all things according to the use of warr and as belongeth to the Power & office of a Captain of our Life Guard of Horse and to hold and enjoy all such rights and priviledges, Preheminence, Honours and Allowances as are in any way appertaining to the charge and office of Captain of all our Life Guard. . . . You are to obey such orders and commands as you shall from time to time receive from us only.

"Nov. 29. 1679."

* It is amusing to read that in February, 1681, "The Duke of Albemarle's coach was searched in the city by City Guards, who believed there were priests concealed in it." (*Newspaper.*)

† 1681, Tuesday, March 8th. "On Friday last nine score of His

Hereupon Monmouth took upon himself to head a deputation of Peers to petition the King against holding the Parliament at Oxford, "where neither Lords nor Commons can be in safety, but will be daily exposed to the swords of the Papists * and their Adherants, of whom too many are crept into your Majestie's Guards." His Majesty

Majesty's Horse Guards were ordered to be ready to attend His Majesty to Windsor, and the Foot Guards to go on Wednesday for Oxford, and the rest of the Horse Guards on Thursday. It is said His Majesty intends to dine at Oxford on Monday next."

March 7th. "Several of His Majesty's Guards, horse & foot, went for Oxford against His Majesty's going. The Duchess of Portsmouth and Nell Gwynne to Oxford."

April. "The Earl of Craven stayed in town at Whitehall during His Majesty's being at Oxford, and several of the horse and foot guards were quartered in the meuse" (*Luttrell*)—the site of Trafalgar Square.

It would appear that the Queen did not accompany the King to Oxford, but went to High Wycombe, escorted thither by some of the Blues:—

[1681.]

SIR,

To-morrow the 27th of March, you are to be ready with Two Partyes of fowre men of each Party one to be at High Wickham to releefe a Party of Sir Francis Compton's Troop & the other to be at what Place you think most convenient for the Releefe of Wickham, Party to marche with me to Oxford, & then to return to your quarters, Given under my hands this 26th day of March 1681.

OXFORD.

To Capt. Legg or the
Officer in Chiefe at Tame.

{ Received this Order at seven
o'clock this morning WILL WINDE }

My Lord setteth out to morrow by 5.

Conducted the Queen's Majesty to Wickham. (*Lord Montagu's Papers.*)

* "It was industriously given out that at Oxford they should be awed by troops and papists, and I do not believe that amongst the guards, horse and foot, and the Royal Regiment of Horse called Oxfords, there was one of that persuasion. As to Officers, I am very certain; and if there were here and there one foot soldier or trooper, it was not known. What irritated them to the last degree was the wise counsel given to the King, to canton the troops of his household in towns and villages round Oxford, and it was well known that most of

immediately "sent Mr. Jenkins to the Earl of Essex," one of the signatories of the petition, "for a list of these Papists, with the intention of having them disbanded, but the noble Peer had none to give." The Petitioners also represented that Parliament "is itself evidently under the power of Guards and soldiers." These pretences, easily to be valued at their real worth, failed of their intended effect. The ultra-Protestant party, still harping on the Popish Plot and insisting on the Bill of Exclusion, overshot their mark. After an honest but vain attempt at compromise, the King, convinced that public opinion was with him and firmly set against the final exclusion of his brother, dissolved Parliament at the end of a seven days' session.*

The conservative forces of the country were not to be withdrawn from the support of James for the purpose of backing Monmouth. Charles was now prepared to prosecute the chief sedition-mongers, and Shaftesbury fled to Holland.

In September, while the Court was residing at Newmarket, the King and Queen visited Cambridge, to the intense pleasure of the University and town; the Vice-Chancellor entertaining their Majesties at a dinner, to which the escort of Life Guards was specially invited.

The newspapers exhibit King Charles at this period the factions of Lords and Commons came well armed, and kept their horses for them and their servants; whereas those that stuck by the King in parliament sent most of their equipage home." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 54.)

* Lord Ailesbury (*Memoirs*, p. 56) describes how the King held a Cabinet Council at Merton College, where it was decided that Parliament should be dissolved. This was on a Sunday. "Secretly in the night the King's coaches were sent one good stage, and some horse guards that were quartered, out of the town." On the Monday, in Christ Church Hall, the King, crowned and robed, dissolved Parliament, and shortly afterwards "went privately down a back stairs" and stepping into a coach arrived at Windsor that night "with guards that were posted on the road, and the next Monday he came to Whitehall."

as the patron of athletic sports amongst the gentlemen of his Guard :—

November 22. 1681. This day was a great wrestling match performed in St. James' Park before His Majesty by a gentleman of Her Majesty's Guards [2nd Troop of Life Guards] and one of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Cravens Foot Guards [Coldstream Guards]. They both being very dexterous and active, it was a long time before they could decide it; but in fine the Life Guardsman had the victory, and had several Guineas given him by the worthy spectators it being performed to their great Satisfaction. (*The Loyal Protestant & True Domestic Intelligencer*, Monday, November 1st, 1678.)

In March of the year following, the Duke of York paid a flying visit to his brother at Newmarket, when his official return to England was decided upon. The Duke and Duchess arrived at Yarmouth in May, and, after a loyal public reception at Norwich, were met by the King and Queen, in whose company and escorted by a party of Life Guards they entered London amid great enthusiasm.

CHAPTER XVI

IN the spring of 1683 a vast commotion was caused by the discovery of the Rye-House Plot, a revelation which materialised into concrete form an idea which had for several years been floating in the public mind ; for, as early as November, 1679, a newspaper had announced the suspected existence of a plot against the King and the Government, to be carried out by a rebel army having for its General the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon and Sir Thomas Armstrong as Lieutenant-Generals.

The promoters of the Rye-House Plot intended to raise an insurrection and to assassinate the King and the Duke of York on their return from Newmarket, at the Rye House near Hoddesdon, so called from the adjacent meadow, the Rye. The place was well chosen, as the house was approached on either side by a narrow lane, and was provided with a large courtyard in which a considerable body of men could be concealed. The conspirators were severally told off to their respective jobs. The King was to be killed by Conyers, the Duke of York by Keins, and the Duke of Buckingham by Pritchard. The soldiers in London were to be slain "at the doors of the ale-houses."

The wicked design providentially miscarried. Owing to the occurrence of a fire at Newmarket the royal party travelled to London a day earlier than had been arranged. The first to reveal the existence of the conspiracy was a man named Josiah Keeling, while subsequent and more

detailed information unquestionably involved the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Essex, Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and in a lesser degree William, Lord Russell. The plot was of an elaborate character, the design including a general rising in London and the provinces. In the code of words devised by the conspirators the King and the Duke of York were known as "Slavery" and "Popery," or "Captain" and "Lieutenant"; "Swan-quills" meant blunderbusses, and "goose-quills" muskets. Meetings took place at the house of one Shepherd in Abchurch Lane. Sir Thomas Armstrong, who in the code figured as "the Player," had four years previously, at the time of the Meal-Tub Plot, made treasonable overtures to Lord Oxford, and now made use of his experience in the Royal Regiment of Horse to try and corrupt the loyalty of the men he had formerly commanded, as well as that of the Life Guards.* Although he failed in this respect, he was able to report that, owing to laxity of discipline, engendered greatly by the system of scattered billets, the seizure of the Guards would be feasible. It was subsequently deposed by Shepherd before the King in Council that "sometime before Lord Shaftesbury went for Holland, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey, and Sir T. Armstrong met at his house, where the subject of discourse was how to secure the Guards." To obtain the information the three walked around the town, and reported the Guards "very remiss in their places, not like soldiers." It was arranged by the conspirators that a party of 500 horse was to be drafted from the vicinity of London to scour the streets; all horses were to be seized, and the Life Guards not actually mounted were to be "surprized in their several stables."

* 1683, June 23. T. Oldfield to Sir T. Newton. "Mr. West last night rendered himself, and was this day examined before the King and Council at Hampton Court, and hath discovered the design and the confederates, amongst which were four of the King's and Duke's [Troops of Horse] Guards." (*Hist. MSS., Rev. H. Ellacombe.*)

The method of taking the King was arranged with Rumball, the owner of the Rye House, who was encouraged by being told that the job could easily be done by five determined men, as the King had travelled on the road a short while before escorted by only five Life Guardsmen. It was decided that an armed party was to be concealed under a wall ; that on the arrival of His Majesty's coach three or four men were to shoot at the postillions and horses, and that if the horses should not drop two men disguised as labourers were to run a cart athwart the lane. A few picked shots meanwhile were to fire into the coach and kill the attendant Life Guards.*

A proclamation was issued on June 28th to apprehend Monmouth,† with his close friend Armstrong and others. Of the chief conspirators Lord Essex cut his throat in prison ;‡ Lord Grey contrived to ply his guard with drink and make his escape ; William, Lord Russell was apprehended and beheaded on Tower Hill, being attended to his execution by a party of the Life Guards. Sir

* "They were to shoot into the coach, and a horseman was to be despatched to London on a swift horse by Hackney Marsh, and the men to cry out that the King and Duke were murdered by the papists." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 74.)

† It is evident that up to the very last Monmouth believed that his relations with the King were not finally broken off, for John writes to Edmund Verney only fourteen days before the proclamation was issued :—"The Duke of Monmouth is very well, but his coachman was 2 or 3 days since beaten severely by some guardsmen. The coachman was in a shop buying a hat, in came Lane a Lifeguardsman and asked him why he wore a Whig livery, a son of a wh— livery, a tra— livery. Welch the coachman gave Lane a box of the ear who drew his sword. Welch disarmed him, then Lane returned with some others. Some kept the door, others went in and beat Welch, striking the hatters' shears into his face. The Duke has complained to the King." (*Hist. MSS., Sir H. Verney*.)

‡ Ralph (p. 767) describes how Lord Essex called to his valet Bomeny for a razor. Bomeny, being later dismissed from her service by Lady Essex, was admitted at once into a troop of the Horse Guards. (See "An Account of how the Earl of Essex killed himself in the Tower.")

Thomas Armstrong was captured at Leyden. In his possession was found a bill of exchange endorsed by a merchant named Hayes, who was also arrested. Armstrong, being handed over to the English Government, was taken to Newgate and hanged the following year on June 20th, one of his fore-quarters being exhibited on Temple Bar, his head similarly treated at Westminster, and another quarter sent down to Stafford, "for which he was a Parliament man."*

Monmouth fled abroad, but on receipt of a kind message returned to England in the autumn, when the King granted him two interviews, at the second of which in the presence of the Duke of York he revealed what he knew of the conspiracy, stoutly denying all knowledge of the assassination plot.† The King ordered his official pardon and gave him a sum of money, but banished him finally from Court.‡

The bursting of the cloud of treason by the discovery of the Rye House Plot cleared the political atmosphere. The King had triumphed, had dismissed his impracticable Parliament, and was to pass the brief remainder of his reign in comparative peace.§

* In 1694 his attainder was reversed on a writ of error.

† The following is an extract from papers found in his pocket-book two years later, after Sedgemoor:—"L. came to me at 11 at night from 29 [i.e. the King,] and told me that 29 could never be brought to believe I knew anything of that part of the plot which concerned Rye House. I went to E. and was in some danger of being discovered by some of Oglethorpe's men, who met me accidentally at the back door of the garden." Lt.-Col. Oglethorpe was a Lieutenant in the Life Guards. See CHAPTER XIX., p. 180, note.

‡ In *British Glory Revived* there is printed a song upon the reconciliation between Charles and the Duke of Monmouth. It is entitled, "Good News in Bad Times: or Absalom's Return to David's Bosome."

§ In the autumn the King visited Winchester:—

"1683, 29 August. 400 men of Horse Guards and Granadiers to attend us for the security of our Person during our Stay at our City of Winchester. Captain directed to proceed to Winchester and in communication with the Mayor to make provision for lodging etc." (*Hist. MSS., Duke of Buccleugh.*)

One of the matters to which the King's attention was specially directed was the necessity of providing for the security of the highways near London :—

1681, May 3rd. "In pursuance of His Majesty's special order commanding the care & diligence of some of the Queen's troop of his Horse Guards to secure all suspected Highwaymen & such like malefactors. They did so on the 26th and 28th of April last, apprehended fourteen persons whereof some are notorious for robbing on the Highway & some for Burglary & other crimes who are all committed to the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster. And whereas it hath been falsely reported that some of these Offenders were—at the time they were seized upon—belonging to his Majesty's Guards. This is therefore to certify that upon their examination before the Justice of the Peace it did appear that not one of them was either of the Horse or Foot Guards, but were bred up to Trades and Callings in and about the cities and suburbs of London & Westminster which they had failed in & forsaken by their Lewd Courses."

Some newspaper extracts point to the urgent need of patrols near London :—

1683, October. Wyndham's troop to march from Greenwich and Deptford to Audley End to patrol the roads.

1683, September 16. Captain Littleton's troop ordered from Islington and Holloway to Staines and Egham to patrol the road between Bagshot and Egham which is infested with robbers. In October sent on to Herts for same duty, returning to Islington the same month.

To the Blues at Chichester some long patrol work is assigned :—

1683, September 19. Capt. Sandys' troop ordered from Chichester to Farnham to patrol between Farnham and Bagshot.

A week later the troop is sent back to Chichester to patrol the roads near there with special orders that 10 men are to sleep in or near Chichester every night.

1684, January. Wyndham's troop marches from Greenwich and Deptford to relieve Sandys's troop at Portsmouth and is relieved by Compton the following month. Compton is relieved in April, and goes to Bagshot.

The Marching Orders record a three days' march of one of the Blues' troops: Portsmouth to Petersfield, Petersfield

to Guildford, Guildford to Kingston, and thence to Sevenoaks.

In 1683 was issued an order for the effective patrol of the Staines-Hounslow road by the King's Own Troop of the Royal Regiment of Horse :—

CHARLES R.

Whereas we have been informed of severall Robberies that have been of late committed on the Road between our City of London and this Place, We have thought fit for preventing the like mischiefs for the future to signify to you Our Will & Pleasure, that you forthwith give Orders for sending forth Parties out of Our owne Troop under your command now quartered in Our Towne of Kingston to patroul upon the Highway between Our Townes of Staines & Hounslow every day from morning till night in order to the apprehending all Highway men & Robbers or persons suspected to be so & to bring them before one of our Justices of the Peace. And you are duly & constantly to observe this Our command till We shall think fit to signify Our pleasure to the contrary And for so doing this shall be your Warrant Given at Our Court at Windsor the 6th day of June 1683 in the five and thirtieth yeare of our Reigne.

By his Majesties command

SUNDERLAND

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved Captain William Legg Captain of Our own Troop, in Our Regiment of Horse, commanded by Our Right Trusty & Right Welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor Aubrey Earle of Oxford, or in his absence to the officer in Chief commanding the same.

Captain Legg's Troop, to patroul between Staines & Hounslow.

[Endorsed] Recaived this Order by Mr. Hudson friday the 8th of June, halfe an hour paste five in the afternoone 1683

WILL WINDE.

In 1684 the same Troop was entrusted with a similar duty at Kingston :—

CHARLES R.

Our Will and Pleasure is, that Our Own Troop whereof Our Trusty & Welbeloved William Legg Esq is Captain do march on the twenty-seaventh day of this Instant October from Epping to Kingston in Our County of Surry where they are to remain untill further Order; and the Officers are constantly to send parties of them to Patrol in the day time for securing the Highwais from Robberies & Disorder and

to take Care that the Soldiers behave themselves Orderly and Pay their Landlords for what shall be due unto them. As also to make application to the Magistrates and Justices of the Peace for their Assistance as the Occasion shall require. Given at our Court at Newmarket the 20th day of Oct. 1684.

By his Majesties Command

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

To our Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved
Cousin and Councillor Aubrey Earl
of Oxford Colonell of our Royal
Regiment of Horse Guards & in his
absence to the Officer in Chief com-
manding that Regiment or with that
Troop.

[Overleaf :—] Sir You are desired forth-
with to put this order in execution as
is directed on the other side.

OXFORD

Endorsed :—] For Captain Legg's Troop
to march to Kingston.

(*Lord Montagu's Papers.*)

The Blues are still found acting as mounted police. Under date of September 6, 1683, is issued an order to Sir F. Compton to detail eight men of his troop to assist one of the King's messengers in searching places and securing certain persons required for State examination.

On October 1st, 1684, accompanied by the Queen and the Duke and Duchess of York, the King held a review on Putney Heath. The Life Guards were present, and with them the lately restored Horse Grenadeers :—

The Horse and Foot embodied, and drawn in a continued line, took their post upon a rising ground, in length from right to left near a mile and half, viz. from the Red House near the Bowling Green, extended across the heath, and fronting the river. The horse at their usual depth made four squadrons upon the right wing, of which the troops of Guards made three, and their Grenadiers one. The left wing of horse in like manner made four squadrons; whereof my Lord of Oxford's Regiment formed two, and my Lord Churchill's Dragoons the other two; in all of horse eight squadrons, each consisting of 200. The total of horse and foot which then rendezvoused, were above four thousand, advantageously trained and well clad men, commanded in the field for that day's generalship by the Right Honourable the Earl of Craven.

Charles the Second died on February 6th, 1685. Of the three witnesses of his submission to the Roman obedience two were Life Guardsmen—the Duke of York and the Earl of Feversham. The dead King's remains, attended in their progress from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey by Peers, Privy Councillors, and Life Guards, were buried with the Anglican rite.*

To Charles's practical sagacity as a statesman a good deal less than justice is commonly done. For whatever else his reign may be noteworthy, it is memorable for the successful foundation, in face of violent and long-sustained opposition, of the existing British Army, and for the formation within it of a *corps d'élite* which by its sterling soldierly qualities set once for all the high standard of military efficiency for which the British soldier has ever since been distinguished. As long as the British Army endures, so long will the name of King Charles deserve to be had in honourable remembrance as that of its ingenious and persevering creator, its courageous upholder, its zealous defender, and its loyal friend.†

* Against the statement that there was "not so much as the mean pomp of the Blew-coat boys to sing him to heaven" (*A Secret Hist. of the Court of Chas. II.*) may be cited this order:—"At the entrance within the Church, the dean and prebends attended by the choire in their Habits, all having wax candles lighted and Books in their [hands, are to receive the Royal Body with] an Anthem, and so proceed before it into King Henry the Seventh's chapell." (B. Mus., *Lansdowne MS.* 93, No. 95.) The mourning orders issued by the Earl Marshal were elaborate and precise. They enjoined that "the Lords and officers of the household should cover their coaches and chairs and clothe their servants with black cloth, and that none presume to use any varnish or bullion nails except His Majesty, the Queen Consort and the Queen Dowager."

† One of the King's latest services to his Army was his prohibition of the selling of military commissions and employments:—"1684. Whitehall. H.M. was this day pleased to declare that he will not for the future consent to selling any military employment." (*Misc. Bk.*, No. vi. p. 31.)

APPENDIX

THE incident dealt with below relates to Relieving Guard. The Duke of Albemarle was at this period in command of the First, and Lord Feversham in command of the Third, Troop of Life Guards :—

W. CHAPMAN TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

May 8, 1683.

Yesterday Thoroton, having faithfully promised Col. Villiers * and the rest of the officers that he would give up possession, delayed until the relief of the Queen's [troop] came to the usual place. Your troop did not immediately draw out and Capt. Chetham † sending to ask Capt. Nowell ‡ whether he would be relieved or not, the latter answered that they would dismount as soon as ever they could get a few sacks of corn down, it being your Grace's command to see this done first. Upon this a complaint was sent to L^d Feversham § whose coach was then at Whitehall Gate and who came over in the greatest heat that I ever saw a man in my life, enquiring what was the matter, and the reason that they did not dismount, & that he never saw the like in his life (as if they had been ready to cut one another's throats) and that he would immediately go & tell the King of it, and make a very great complaint, & withal immediately commanded Capt Nowell to march. Capt. Nowell told him since it was the King's command it sh^d be obeyed, but that he had done nothing but what he had orders to do, upon which he (Lord F) went into his coach and drove away to Windsor in a great passion. I asked some present to take notice of the time and it was judged to be a little more than half a quarter past three ock by the guard clock, and your Grace and everyone knows they seldom dismount before half an hour past three, but generally four. I went to find Col. Villiers and we sent an express to Col. Ashton || urging him if possible to set out there before L^d Feversham and give

* Lt. Col. of the First (King's) Troop.

† Or Chittam, of the Second (Queen's) Troop.

‡ Of the First (King's) Troop.

§ Apparently as Gold-Stick-in-Waiting.

|| Lt. Col. of the First (King's) Troop.

the King the first account. Sir Phillip sent for me to consult me about the liveries of the trumpets. W^h the Treasury are very stiff to have made by the King's tailor, if he will do it as cheap as another, so for fear if we contradicted it the men would get none, the livery was resolved on and M^r Grime ordered to make it. Thoroton told Lord Feversham all this bustle was because he w^d not give M^r Bowes £150 a year. I told his Lordship it was no such thing upon w^h he said he did not understand it, and that he would not have the gentlemen of his troop to pay 12 pence when they could have it for ninepence, and that no moneys should be drawn from them without his consent. upon w^h I said there was nobody pretended to do any such thing—but that your Grace ordered room to be made for provision for your own troop. But he was in so great a heat one could scarce answer him anything.

COL. ASHTON TO W. CHAPMAN.

Just before I received y. letter L^d Feversham told me the substance of it and asked me to be present when he spoke to the King to see that he w^d not aggravate anything unreasonably, neither did he. Nobody is blamed, and the K. says matters are to stand as they are until the Duke of Albemarle returns. (*Hist. MSS., Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.*)

CHAPTER XVII

IN 1684 there was published a list of the officers of the Life Guards and of the Blues. There is also extant an earlier list of the former, which is inserted here for the purpose of comparison. In 1679 the names of the Officers of the Life Guards were thus given :—

“ THE KING’S OWN TROOP OF GUARDS.

Captain and Colonel	James Duke of Monmouth.				
Lieutenants and Lieutenant- Colonels	<table><tr><td>Randolph Egerton, Esq.</td></tr><tr><td>Mr. Edward Villiers.</td></tr><tr><td>Sir Thomas Armstrong.</td></tr><tr><td>Edmund Aston, Esq.</td></tr></table>	Randolph Egerton, Esq.	Mr. Edward Villiers.	Sir Thomas Armstrong.	Edmund Aston, Esq.
Randolph Egerton, Esq.					
Mr. Edward Villiers.					
Sir Thomas Armstrong.					
Edmund Aston, Esq.					
Cornet and Major	Edward Griffin, Esq.				
Guidon and Major	Charles, Lord Berkeley.				
Quartermaster and Captain	Richard Binnes, Esq.				
Marshal to all the Horse . .	Walter Baker, Esq.				
Chaplain	Dr. James Gardiner.				
Chirurgeon	Nathaniel Hubbard, Esq.				
Corporals, or Brigadiers and Lieutenants	Samuel Wood (Adjutant).				
	Stephen Dyer, Esq.				
	Peter Cyvett, Esq.				
	William Egerton, Esq.				

“ THE QUEEN’S TROOP OF HIS MAJESTY’S GUARDS.

Captain and Colonel	The Honble. Sir Phillip Howard, Knt.		
Lieutenants and Lieutenant- Colonels	<table><tr><td>Daniel Collingwood, Esq.</td></tr><tr><td>Sir George Hewyt, Knt.</td></tr></table>	Daniel Collingwood, Esq.	Sir George Hewyt, Knt.
Daniel Collingwood, Esq.			
Sir George Hewyt, Knt.			
Cornet and Major	Sir John Fenwick, Knt.		
Guidon and Major	Charles Orby, Esq.		
Quartermaster and Captain	William Upcott, Esq.		



A Trooper in the Royal Regiment of Horse: circa 1892.
From the illustrated edition of 'The British Cavalry Army'.
By Colonel Clifford Whelon.

Chaplain	Mr. Benjamin Barnet.
Chirurgeon	Dr. John Troutback.
Corporals or Brigadiers and Lieutenants	George Collingwood, Esq. Edward Watson, Esq. John Staples, Esq. John Chetham, Esq.

“ HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE'S TROOP OF HIS
MAJESTY'S GUARDS.

Captain and Colonel	The Rt. Honble. Louis, Earl of Feversham.
Lieutenants and Lieutenant- Colonels	Robert Werden, Esq. Sir Richard Dutton, Knt.
Cornet and Major	Sir John Godolphin, Knt.
Guidon and Major	Sir Henry Fitz-James, Knt.
Quartermaster and Captain	George Steward, Esq.
Chaplain	Mr. William Rolls.
Chirurgeon	James Pearce, Esq.
Corporals or Brigadiers and Lieutenants	Nathaniel Leighton, Esq. Ferdinand Stanhope, Esq. William Springall, Esq. Theophilus Oglethorpe, Esq.”*

The following particulars relating to the three Troops of Life Guards and to the Royal Regiment of Horse, who took part in the review on Putney Heath, appear in the *General & Compleat List Military*, etc. printed for Nathan Brooks, October 9th, 1684.

I

“ A List of All Commission and Staff Officers in the King's own Troop of Horse Guards, and Troops of

* See CHAPTER XIX. Oglethorpe was this year (1679) promoted Major without intervening rank. By 1684 he was Lieutenant-Colonel as the next list shows.

Granadiers by his Grace, Christopher Duke of Albemarle Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, commanded in chief, as eldest Colonel of Horse in his Majesties Kingdom of England.

Christopher D. of Albemarle Captain. Commanding as Colonel.

The Hon. Edward Villiers	
Edmond Ashton	{} Lieuts. Comm. as
Edward Griffin	{} Lieut.-Cols.
Richard Binns	
Sir Walter Clarges, Cornet	
The Rt Hon Jo Ld Bercley	{} Comm. as Majors.
Guidon	
Stephen Dyer, Q ^r M ^r	{} Comm. as Capt.
Lewis Billingster	
Robt Nowell	{} {} Brigadiers Comm. as
John Baynes	{} {} Lieuts.
Edward Symms	
Tho. Wilford	{} {} Sub-Brigadiers
Jo. Brailsford	{} {} commanding as assistants
George Nailor	{} {} to the Brigadiers.

“ The State Major or Staff Officers belonging to this Troop.

D ^r Ja. Gardiner	Chaplain.
W ^m Chapman	Clerk.
Tho. Hobs	Chirurgeon.
Hugh Fisher	
Ben. Ragois	{} {} {} Trumpets.
Michael Mear	
John Basset	
Rob ^t Mangridge	Ket. Drum.

“ Granadiers attending this Troop of Guards.

John Parker	
Tho. Gay	{} {} {} Lieutenants.

2 Sergeants.	2 Corporals.	4 Hautbois
2 Drums	64 Private Men	

“ This Troop of Guards consists of 200 besides Officers, distinguished by their Carbine Belts of Velvet, laced with Gold and Silver, by their red Hoooses and Holster-Caps, embroidered with the Royal Cypher and Crown, Coated and Cloaked in Scarlet, lined with Blew; the Standard Crimson [damask], with the Royal Cypher and Crown, the Guidon differenced only from the Standard by being rounded and slit at the end.

“ The Captains pay of this Troop, per diem £1 10s. The Lieutenants 15s. The Cornets 14s. The Guidons 12s. Q^r M^r 9s. Brigadiers 7s. Sub-brigadiers equal with the Kings pay of a private man, which is daily 4s.

“ The Granadiers of this Troop, have blew loops, tufted with Yellow upon red coats lined Blew, with Granadier Caps, lined with the same, and a Blew round mark on the outside, armed with Bayonets and Harquebuzes. The Lieutenants pay, per diem, of Granadiers to this troop 8s. Sergeants 4s. Corporals 3s. Private men, Hautbois and Drums 2s. 6d.

II

“ A List of all Commission and Staff Officers in the Queens Troop of His Majesties Horse Guards and Troop of Granadiers commanded by the Honourable Sir Philip Howard.

Sir Philip Howard	Capt	Comm ^{ing} as Lieut-Colonel
Sir George Hewyt Bar	Lieuts.	Comm ^{ing} as Lieut-
Sir John Fenwick Bar		Cols.
Charles Orby Cornet		
The Hon John Darcy		Comm ^{ing} as Majors.
Guidon		
William Upcott Q ^r M ^r		Comm ^{ing} as Captain

Geo. Collingwood	
John Staples	Brigadiers Comm ^{ing} as Lieutenants
John Chitham	
Sir Richard Brown Bar	
Richard Beale	
Richard Barham	Sub-brigadiers Comm ^{ing} as Assistants to the Brigadiers.
Geo Howard	
Mich Studholm	

“ The State-Major, or Staff-Officers belonging to this Troop of Guards

Benj Barnet	Chaplain
Philip Aires	Clerk
Richard Mills	Chirurgeon
W ^m Bounty	Trumpets.
W ^m Bull	
Thomas Burnwell	
Mat Shoar	
Francis Breban	

“ Granadiers attending this Troop of Guards.

Richard Potter	Lieuts.
Robert Dixon	

2 Sergts. 2 Corporals. 2 Drums. 4 Hautbois. 64 Pte Men.

“ The Queens Troop of Horse Guards has but two lieutenants otherwise consisting of an equal number with that of the Kings, distinguished by Carbine belts of Green velvet, laced with Gold, Green Hooses, and Holster Caps, embroidered with the same Cypher and Crown Coated and Cloaked as the Kings. Standard and Guidon the same as the Kings [presumably of green damask].*

“ The Captains Pay of this Troop per diem is 10s. less than that of the Kings, all the other Officers Pay alike

* The Fourth Troop of Life Guards—raised in 1686 and disbanded in 1689—had a similar Standard and Guidon, but of blue damask.

with the Kings Troop, excepting the Brigadiers, who has but 6s.

“ The Granadiers Pay'd Clad, and Armed as the King's differenc't by Green Loops with yellow Tufts upon their coats

III

“ A list of all Commission and Staff Officers in the Dukes Troop of His Majesties Horse Guards and the Troop of Granadiers, commanded by the Rt Honble Louis, Earle of Feversham.

Louis Earle of Feversham, Captain. Comm. as Colonel.

Robt Werder	Lieuts. Comm as Lt Cols
Theophilus Oglethorp	
Philip Darcy Cornet	Comm as Majors
Edmund Main Guidon	
Ferdinand Stanhop Q ^r M ^r	Comm as Capt
Wm Springall	Brigadiers
Ambrose Norton	
Geo. Hastings	
Jenken Morgan	Comm as Lieuts
Henry Rimborn	
Henry Griffith	
Sam Harison	Sub-brigadiers
Sam English	

“ The State-Major or Staff-Officers belonging to this Troop of Guards.

W ^m Roles	Chaplain
James Bridgeman	Clerk
Gabriel Jones	Chirurg
Jo Seignior	Trumpets
Pet Lefever	
Rich Phillips	
Moses Phillips	Ket Drum
Cornet Vanderend	

“ The Granadiers attending this Tp of Guards.

Anthony Heyford	Lieuts.
John Vaughan	

2 Serg. 2 Corps. 4 Hautbois. 2 Drums. [64 Pte Men.]

“ The Duke's Troop and Granadiers, the same in Pay and Number with the Queen's the Guards only distinguished by their Carbine Belts, laced with Silver upon Yellow Velvet. Hoooses and Holster Caps embroidered upon yellow, with the same Cypher and Crown as the Kings. The Standard and Guidon yellow Damask, with his Royal Highnesses Cypher & Coronet.

“ The Granadiers paid and clad as the Kings differc't by their Coat Loops of Yellow upon their breasts.

IV

“ A List of all Commission and Staff Officers in the Royall Regt of Horse Guards, Commanded by the Rt Honble Aubery, Earle of Oxford, K^t of the most noble order of the Garter.

Aubery E of Oxford, Colonel.

The Hon^{ble} Sir Fran Compton Major.

Captains	Lieuts
William Legg Com. K. O.	Will. Wind
Tp.	L ^t Hen. Cornwell
Capt L ^t Hen. Cornwell Comm the Colonels Tp.	L ^t Chas Adderley Edmund Harris
The Majors Troop comm by Sir Chs. Windham	Edm. Turner Davenport Lucy
Edw. Sandys	John Lehunt
Tho. Lucy	Phil. Munocks
Tho. Slingsby	
Walter Littleton	
Cornets	Q ^r M ^{rs}
Rowland Selby	Rich Wises
Edw. Scott	Geo. Cary

Hen. Norris	Cha. Duncom
Dav. Lloid	Rob. Bourg
Oldfield	Vernam
Leigh	Thos. Conisby
Edw. Andrews	John Tuck
Will Carew	Wal. Chetwynd

“The State Major of Officers belonging to this Regiment.

David Lloid. Adjutant. Syssom. Chirurgeon.

“This Regiment of Horse Guards consists of eight troops each of them having besides those Commissioned-Officers above named, three Corporals, two Trumpets, 45 Pte Men, distinguished by their Carbine-Belts laced with Gold upon Buff, with a red-edging, Hoses & Holster Caps with the Royal Cypher, embroidered upon Blew, Coated and Cloaked Blew, lined Red. The Colonels pay per diem as Col & Capt £1 14s. The Majors as Major & Captain 17s. A Captains 11s. a Leuitenants 10s. Cornets 9s. Q^r M^r 6s. Corporals 3s. Trumpets 3s. Private Men 2s. 6d. The Kings Troop has only a kettle drum which none of the other Troops have, with a Standard Crimson, and the Imperial Crown Embroidered; the Colonels colours flyes the Royal Cypher on Crimson; the Majors Gold Streams on Crimson; the first Troop, the Rose Crowned; the second, a thistle crown'd; the third, the Flower Deluces Crown'd; the fourth, the Harp Crown'd; the fifth, the Royal Oak [all] embroidered upon their Crimson Colours.”

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM the time of its inception King James the Second had been closely and continuously identified with the Royal Body Guard. As Duke of York, he had given his name to one of its troops, and had, as heir presumptive to the throne, been by them escorted and guarded with vigilance and devotion. His deep interest in the Life Guard and in everything connected with it was rooted in the conviction that the country and the monarchy urgently required a standing army, of which the Household troops were to form the nucleus.

James's knowledge of the art of war and his experience of actual warfare were by no means inconsiderable. In his youth, during his earlier exile, he had served in several campaigns under Turenne in Flanders; while, as a seaman, his claims to distinction in the annals of the British Navy are undeniable. In our own day, the important administrative services rendered by him to the Fleet have received tardy official recognition by the re-erection of Grinling Gibbons's fine statue of him in front of the Admiralty facing St. James's Park.

It is impossible to study the earlier part of James's career without being struck by the force of character and the practical wisdom which at that period belonged to him. This was pre-eminently true in the military sphere. The great Duke of Wellington declared that certain regulations with respect to ordnance which James originated had never been improved upon since, and

they were still in force a century and a half later. The same unsurpassed authority told Sir Walter Scott that "the most distinct writer on military affairs he had ever read was James the Second" (Sir Walter Scott's *Letters*, ii. 77). At a time when less sagacious counsellors of the Crown had left it all but denuded of military protection, James's foresight and promptitude saved both King and kingdom from a threatened catastrophe by his insisting on the maintenance of the Life Guard as an effective permanent force. He strenuously upheld, and indeed prompted, King Charles's efforts to establish a standing army, and throughout his brother's reign was the leading exponent of that policy.

That James's accession to the throne should have been marked, as it undoubtedly was, by a deterioration of moral fibre which affected even his mental powers is as great a psychological puzzle to the historical student as it apparently was to his own subjects. The nation had never, it is true, approved the policy of which, during the preceding reign, he had been the consistent champion and promoter—a policy which, in the popular mind, took shape not merely as Popery *plus* Militarism, but as Popery resting on Militarism. The liberties of the people were not only to be threatened by a force of soldiery, but the force thus created was to be employed in imposing the Roman Catholic form of religion on the whole nation.

Yet, detested as this policy undoubtedly was, it is impossible to affirm that its leading representative was personally unpopular. Notwithstanding all the attacks directed against him by a powerful and unscrupulous faction, there were unmistakable signs that the country at large retained a feeling of affection for the heir to the Throne. When the moment arrived for him to succeed to the Crown, the people were quite willing to give their

new Sovereign every chance of reigning peaceably, like his predecessor, as a constitutional monarch. Such disaffection as existed speedily showed its head in the Monmouth rebellion—a movement which, had the King at that period as entirely lost the confidence of his subjects as was the case later, must either have succeeded or have come perilously near to success. That it proved, in point of fact, an abortive and abject failure is a remarkable indication of the temper of the nation, which at that time was still hoping against hope that its desire to be loyal to its lawful Sovereign might somehow be reconciled with its fixed determination to preserve its civil and religious liberties.

On February 6th, 1685, the heralds who proclaimed the accession of King James the Second were attended by a detachment of the Life Guard. The new King openly professed his adhesion to the Roman communion, and publicly attended its religious rites with an escort of his Guards, whose Captain also waited on His Majesty, walking next to his person “before all others.”

Four days before the late King’s decease, Sir Philip Howard had died, and one of the new Sovereign’s first acts was to appoint the Duke of Northumberland,* a

* George FitzRoy, third son of the Duchess of Cleveland, was born at Oxford in 1665 and created Viscount Falmouth and Earl of Northumberland when nine years old. In 1682 he was sent on a secret mission to Venice, on his return in the following year was raised to a Dukedom, and in 1684 received the Garter. He served with the French as a volunteer at the siege of Luxemburg. Evelyn describes him as “of all His Majesty’s children the most accomplished and worth knowing.” He was very good-looking and a specially fine horseman. Some scandal was caused by his marriage in 1686 with the daughter of a poultreer of Bracknell in Berkshire, who, however, bore him no children. The title became extinct on his death in 1716. Noble says:—“The Duke was tall and dark complexioned like his father the King. He did not much attend to politics: or perhaps he thought (situated as he was) a country life more safe; he courted the neighbouring gentry rather than the acquaintance of the Nobility. He was amiable and very just in discharging his debts.” (*Biogr. Hist. Eng.*, i. 35.)

natural son of the dead monarch by Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, to succeed him in the captaincy of the Second Troop of the Life Guard. On the occasion of the Coronation at Westminster on St. George's Day, April 23rd, all three troops of the Life Guard, accompanied by their Horse Grenadiers, were posted along the route of the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey Church. The Duke of Northumberland, as Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, walked next behind the King, supported by the Captain of the corps of Gentlemen Pensioners, and the Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. The Earl of Oxford carried the Sword of State, and the Duke of Albemarle the sceptre and dove.*

The splendour of the Life Guards' uniform is detailed by Sandford :—

The Officers of this [the First] Troop were richly habited, either in Coats of Crimson Velvet imbroidered with Gold and Silver; or of fine Scarlet Cloth, imbroidered or laced with Gold or Silver or both intermixed. They wear Scarfs about their Wastes, either of Gold or Silver Network, or Crimson Taffata, richly fringed with Gold or Silver on the Edges, and with deep Fringe of the same ate the Ends. Their Cloaks were also of fine Scarlet Cloth, imbroidered on the Capes, and down before with Gold or Silver or both intermixed. In their Hats they wore Tours of White Feathers, the Housses and Holster Caps being of Crimson Velvet, were richly imbroidered and imbossed with Gold or Silver; And the Manes, Cruppers, and Tayls of their Horses were garnished with large Knots of broad Blew Taffata Riband.

The Gentlemen of this Troop (200 in number) were all new cloathed in Coats and Cloaks of Scarlet Cloth lined with Blew Chalon; their Buttons were of Silver Plate. The Facings of their Sleeves of the same Stuff, were laced about with a figured Galon of Silver edged with Gold two Inches broad. They had each of them a good Buff Coat, and a large pair of Gantlet Gloves of the same, and in their Hats (which were of Black, and turned up on one side, and edged about with a broad Silver Lace) they wore large Blew Knots of broad Taffata Riband; which *Blew* being the distinguishing colour of their Troop from the others. The Heads of their Horses were adorned with Knots of the like Riband. Each of these gentlemen was armed and accoutred with a good broad sword, a large buff shoulder belt, a case of pistols, a

* So Oldmixon. He means the sceptre surmounted by a dove.

carabine with a carabine belt of Blew velvet five inches broad bordered with figured silver galon (edged with a narrow gold lace) in breadth two inches so that not an inch in breadth of the velvet appeared. The place of parade of this Troop being the piazza of Covent Garden, they marched thence by Whitehal into the new Palace, being drawn up three deep with their front to the outside of the rail next to the Thames, and being commanded this day by the eldest Lieutenant-Colonel [Colonel Edward Villiers], by reason that the Duke of Albemarle, Colonel and Captain of the Troop, being a Peer, was obliged to attend His Majesty in the Procession.

The Officers of the Second Troop were richly habited and equipped as those of the First Troop, from whom they differed in the lace of their Hats and Sleeve Facings, which was Gold edged with Silver, and in the colours of their Housses and Holster Caps, which were of Green velvet, and in the garnishing of the Manes, Crappers and Tails of their Horses, which were of Green Taffata Riband. The Gentlemen of this Troop differed from the Gentlemen of the First Troop in the colour of their Ribands in their Hats and Horses heads, which were of *Green*, as were also their Housses and Holster caps and Carabine Belts. They paraded at their usual place in the Haymarket, whence marching by St. James's stables they passed through the Gate House into the Great Sanctuary, being commanded by the eldest Lieutenant-Colonel [Sir George Hewitt], by reason that the Duke of Northumberland did immediately follow His Majestie's Royal Person as Captain of the Horse Guard in waiting.

The Officers of the Third Troop differed from the First Troop in the colour of their Housses and Holster Caps, which were of Yellow velvet. The Gentlemen differed from both the other Troops in the Lace of their Hats, of their Sleeve-Facings and of their Carabine Belts, which was of silver, and in the colour of the Riband of their Hats and Horses heads which were *Yellow*, as was also the cloth of their Housses and Holster Caps and the velvet facing of the Carabine Belts. They paraded in the Haymarket and marched by Whitehal into the Palace Yard, being that day commanded by the eldest Lieutenant-Colonel [Colonel Werder], as the Earl of Feversham was obliged to attend His Majesty in the Procession.

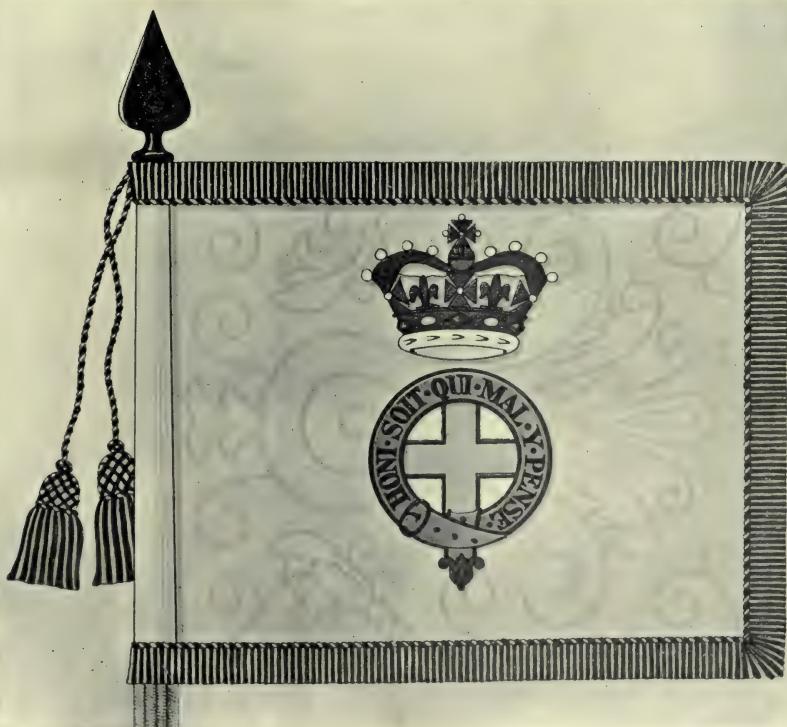
Of the Flags of the First Troop, Sandford says:—

As to the Standards, the Cornet is of Crimson Damask doubled, being two Foot six Inches flying, and two Foot three Inches on the Staff, it is fringed about with Silver and Gold intermixed three Inches deep, with strings and Tassels suitable; and in the middle is embroidered the King's Cypher, ensign'd with a large Imperial Crown of Gold, within a Scroll of Silver whereon the King's Motto is wrought in Black Silk; and under the Scroll three lesser Imperial Crowns of Gold are Embroidered.



SQUARE STANDARD.

1.—SECOND TROOP OF HORSE GUARDS, 1687.



STANDARD OF THE EIGHTH TROOP OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF HORSE, 1687.

From illustrations in "Standards and Colours of the Army," by S. M. Milne.

The Guidon is also of Crimson Damask, made up and embroidered in all respects as the Cornet, from which it differs only in form, having a forked Tail, from the points whereof to the Staff is about a yard and three Inches flying.

The costliness of these splendours is apparent from the bill sent in by T. Holford, Portcullis Pursuivant of Arms, for "Standard, colours, etc., made and provided against H.M. Coronation," which includes the following items*:-

For Standard and Guidon for the 1st Troop of Horse Guards by agreement with Charles Fox, Esq., Pay-master-General, at £24 each	£48
Standard for H.M. Troop in the Royal Regiment of Horse, commanded by the E. of Oxford, Sir J. Parsons by agreement	£24
For the other 8 Troops	£20

While the troops of the Life Guards enjoyed, as already stated,† the unique distinction of bearing two standards each—the Cornet and the Guidon, the standards of the Blues were of the former kind only, which is of the square shape generally carried by the heavy cavalry, the guidon being appropriated to light dragoons.

In 1689, when the Royal Regiment of Horse had been augmented from eight troops to nine, each troop still carried a square standard of crimson damask fringed red and gold. Several changes had, however, been made in the details. The standard of the King's troop had in its centre the crowned cipher "J. R." in gold; above, a silver label inscribed "Dieu et mon Droit"; below, three small crowns in gold. The standard of the Colonel's troop had the crest of England—a crowned leopard standing upon a crown; the Lieutenant-Colonel's, a rose crowned; the remaining six bearing respectively a golden thistle, a

* War Office State Papers, 1685.

† CHAPTER IV., p. 33, note.

golden fleur-de-lys, a golden harp with silver strings, a gold royal oak, a gold portcullis, and the badge of the Garter—all surmounted with crowns.*

By about 1750 the standards of both the Life Guards and the Blues had undergone a change. The former retained the two standards in each troop, one square, the other guidon-shaped, but in their embroidery exactly alike. The First Troop, on a crimson damask ground, exhibited the crowned badge of the Union—the rose and thistle on one stalk, the crown being flanked by the royal initials, "G. R." ; below, on a golden scroll, "Dieu et mon Droit" ; at foot, the three crowns. Precisely similar were the standards of the Second Troop, but of white damask. The Third and Fourth Troops had been disbanded in 1746. The standards of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards differed from those just described in having a ground of blue damask and the scroll in silver ; while those of the Second Troop of Horse Grenadiers had crimson damask and a silver scroll.

The Blues had by this time lost its troop standards—each with its distinctive badge, the cavalry standards having lately been reduced to one per squadron. The three surviving standards, all square in shape, were of crimson damask fringed with gold. The first displayed the royal arms and cipher ; the second, the Union badge and crown, with royal cipher ; and the third, the double-interlaced cipher, surmounted by a crown.

The Life Guards discarded guidon flags in 1788 and their usage was assimilated to that of the Blues, who throughout their history have carried square standards only, except in the case of the royal standard presented to them by William the Fourth, which has a rounded and slit end.†

* S. M. Milne, *The Standards and Colours of the Army*, p. 32.

† William the Fourth's standard was used in 1887 at Queen Victoria's jubilee. See CHAPTER LXX.

ESTABLISHMENT UNDER JAMES II. 171

At the opening of the new reign the establishment of the Life Guards was made up as follows:—

His Majesty's three Troops of Horse Guards, consisting of 200 Gentlemen in each, besides Officers.

HIS MAJESTY'S FIRST TROOP OF GUARDS.		<i>Per Diem</i>	<i>Per Annum</i>
Captain	.	1 0 0	365 0 0
Four Lieutenants each 15s. per Diem	.	3 0 0	1095 0 0
Cornett	.	14 0	255 10 0
Guidon	.	12 0	219 0 0
Quarter-Master	.	9 0	164 5 0
Chaplain	.	6 8	121 13 4
Chirurgeon 6s. and one horse to carry his chest 2s. per Diem	}{	8 0	146 0 0
Four Brigadiers, each 7s. per Diem	.	1 8 0	511 0 0
Four Sub-Brigadiers, over and above the pay of Private Gentlemen of the troop, one shilling per diem each	}{	4 0	73 0 0
Four trumpeters each 5s. per Diem	.	1 0 0	365 0 0
One Kettle Drummer	.	5 0	91 5 0
Two hundred Gentlemen, each 4s. per Diem	}{	40 0 0	14600 0 0
		<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
		£49 6 8	£18006 13 4
		<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

SECOND TROOP OF GUARDS.		<i>Per Diem</i>	<i>Per Annum</i>
Captain	.	1 0 0	365 0 0
Two Lieutenants each 15s. pr. Diem	.	1 10 0	547 10 0
Cornett	.	14 0	255 10 0
Guidon	.	12 0	219 0 0
Quarter Master	.	9 0	165 5 0
Chaplain	.	6 8	121 13 4
Chirurgeon 6s. and one Horse to carry his chest 2s. pr Diem	}{	8 0	146 0 0
Four Brigadiers each 7s. pr D ^m	.	1 8 0	511 0 0
Four Sub-Brigadiers, over and above the pay of Private Gentlemen of the Troop 1s. pr D ^m each	}{	4 0	73 0 0
Four trumpeters each 5s.	.	1 0 0	365 0 0
One Kettle Drummer	.	5 0	91 5 0
Two hundred Gentlemen each 4s. pr D ^m	40 0 0	14600 0 0	
		<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
		£47 16 8	£17460 13 4
		<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

THIRD TROOP OF GUARDS £47 16 8 £17460 13 4
 [As the Second.]

THREE TROOPS OF GRANADIERS:

consisting of 64 men in each besides Officers.

One Troop of Granadiers belonging to his

Majesty's First troop of Guards.	Per Diem	Per Annum
Two Lieutenants each 8s. . . .	16 0	292 0 0
Two Sergeants each 4s. . . .	8 0	146 0 0
Two Corporals each 3s. . . .	6 0	109 0 0
Two Drummers each 2s. 6d. . . .	5 0	91 5 0
Two Hoboys each 2s. 6d. . . .	5 0	91 5 0
Sixty four Granadiers at 2s. 6d. p'}	8 0 0	2920 0 0
Diem each for Man & Horse . . .		
	£10 0 0	£3649 10 0

The Pay of two other Troops of
 Granadiers belonging to the Second
 and Third Troops of Guards respec- } £20 0 0 £7299 0 0
 tively at the same rates and numbers
 with the Troop above mentioned

	Per Diem	Per Annum
To the Fire Master of Our Three Troops of Granadiers belonging to Our Horse Guards for Furnishing of them with Fuzees & Granadoes for their Exercise & Service . . .	3 0 0	54 15 0
Adjutant to the three Troops of Horse Guards	7 0	127 15 0
For ffire, Candle and Oyle for those of the Horse Guards who are upon Duty	6 0	109 10 0
More for ffire and Candle for the Horse Guards and Maintenance of a servant to cleanse the Roomes and look after the Clock there . . .	4 0	73 0 0
To the Person who provides Dyett for the Officers of His Majesty's Horse Guards who are in waiting . . .	8 0	146 0 0
TOTALL OF THE THREE TROOPS OF GUARDS AND GRANADIERS . . .	£179 5 0	£64387 10 0

With the foregoing may be grouped the following account of the establishment of the Royal Regiment of Horse, as fixed in 1685:—

His Majesty's Royall Regiment of Horse, consisting of 450 soldiers in Nine Troops of 50 in each, besides Officers.

FEILD AND STAFF OFFICERS:	Per Diem	Per Annum
Colonel as Colonel	12 0	219 0 0
Lieutenant Colonel as Lieutenant } Colonel } 8 0	146 0 0	
Major as Major	5 6	100 7 6
Adjutant	5 0	91 5 0
Chaplain	6 8	121 3 4
Chirurgeon 4s. and One Horse to } carry his Chest 2s. } 6 0		109 10 0
One Kettle Drummer to the King's } troop } 3 0		54 15 0
	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
	£2 6 2	£842 0 10

HIS MAJESTY'S TROOP:	Per Diem	Per Annum
Captain 10s. and 2 Horses each 2s. } p' D ^m } 14 0		255 10 0
Lieutenant 6s. and 2 Horses each 2s. .	10 0	182 10 0
Cornett 5s. and 2 Horses each 2s. .	9 0	164 5 0
Quarter Master 4s. and one Horse 2s. .	6 0	109 10 0
Three Corporalls each 3s.	9 0	164 5 0
Two Trumpeters each 2s. 8d.	5 4	97 6 8
Fifty Soldiers each 2s. 6d.	6 5 0	2281 5 0
	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
	£8 18 4	£3254 11 8
The Pay of Eight Troops More to } compleat this Regiment att the } same Rates and Numbers as in } the Troop above mentioned } £71 6 8		£26036 13 4
TOTALL OF THIS REGT.	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
	£82 11 2	£30133 15 10

Abstract of foregoing Establishment of

H.M. Land Forces:—

His Ma ^{ties} Three Troop of Horse } Guards and Granadiers } 179 5 0	64387 10 0
His Ma ^{ties} Royal Reg ^t of Horse	30133 15 10
	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
	£261 16 2
	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
	£94521 5 10

On January 9th, 1699, the Secretary at War was ordered by the House of Lords to furnish a return* of the State of the Army in England in November, 1685. The document is among the MSS. of the House of Lords (1698 January 24) :—

	Tps.	Off.	N.C.O.	Serv.	Ptes. ex. s.	Total.
First Tp. of Guards and Gren.	2	17	14	22	242	295
Second ,, ,,	2	14	13	18	246	291
Third ,, ,,	2	14	13	18	246	291
Royal Regt. of Horse	9	39	46	75	375	535

* For a return of the strength in 1698 *vide* CHAPTER XXXI., p. 293.

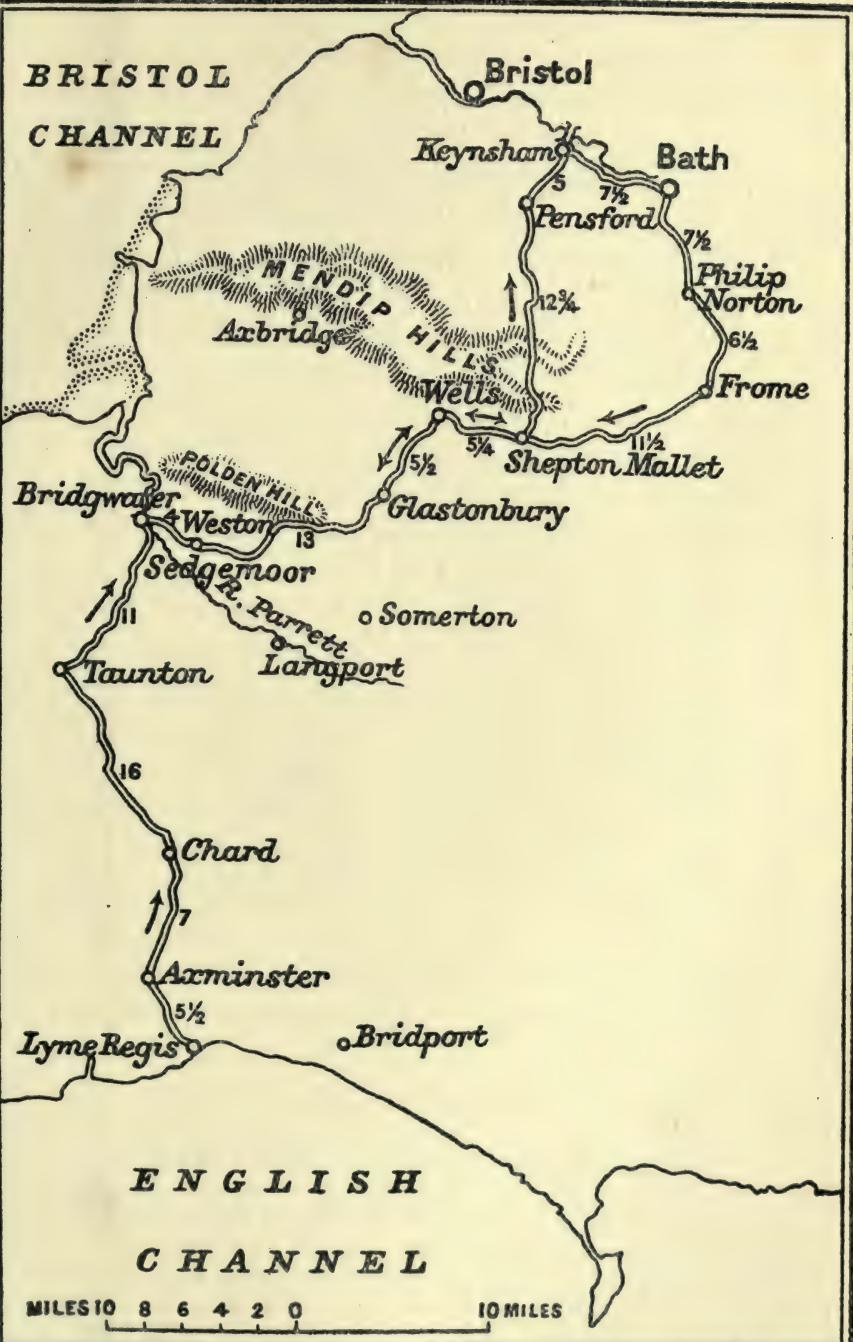
CHAPTER XIX

TWO months had not elapsed since King James's Coronation, before the Duke of Monmouth showed himself in his true colours by daring openly to claim the Crown. The offspring of Robert Sidney and Lucy Walter, although acknowledged by Charles the Second as his own natural son, Monmouth had already during the late reign persistently schemed to bridge over the gulf which separated him from the succession to the Throne. By audacious tampering with official documents bearing the King's signature he had sought to make it appear that he was authoritatively recognised as His Majesty's legitimate issue. This rather flimsy expedient having miscarried, the adventurer, nothing daunted, determined after Charles's death to renew his preposterous pretension in more direct fashion. His confidence in the overwhelming Protestant feeling of the country was entirely justified; but his belief in his own ability to direct it in support of his cause and person was a characteristic piece of vainglorious self-deception. He omitted to take account of the obviously superior chances of rallying Protestant support enjoyed by William of Orange, himself a grandson of Charles the First, as well as the husband of a Princess who, in default of an eligible male heir-apparent, stood actually first in the line of the succession to the Throne.

Monmouth's self-love obscured his insight. After the failure of the Rye-House plot, he had resided chiefly in Holland, trustfully accepting the proffered hospitality of

the wily William, whose own interest in the matter of the succession made him impartially hostile both to his father-in-law and to his pretended cousin. After the accession of James the Second, the Stadtholder could no longer harbour Monmouth at the Hague, and the latter consequently retired to Brussels. The Earl of Argyll being at this time his fellow-exile in Holland, the pair shortly came to an agreement to initiate simultaneous risings north and south of the Tweed against the Government of King James. Argyll accordingly landed in Scotland on May 13th, the intention being that the southern movement should follow within a fortnight. A whole month, however, elapsed before his fellow-conspirator found it possible to invade England. Within a few days the Scots leader, who had fatally miscalculated his chances of success, was easily defeated and captured, and on June 30th suffered the penalty for high treason at Edinburgh.

Monmouth's landing, delayed for a full fortnight beyond the time fixed, took place at Lyme Regis on June 11th, 1685. His Declaration claimed for him, as "the now head and Captain-general of the Protestant forces of this kingdom," a legitimate and legal right to the Crown, but promised to leave the determination of that right to a free Parliament. News that the rebellion had broken out reached the capital at four o'clock on the morning of the 13th. Though not unexpected, it produced in official circles the kind of nervous commotion so often observable in much more modern times on the outbreak of any hostilities, however petty. Monmouth within four days of his landing made a move into Devon, having marched eight miles from Lyme to Axminster. Albemarle, who had hastily journeyed from London to head the Devon militia, about 4,000 in number, was intending to quarter them in Axminster on the very night of the rebels' arrival there. Monmouth was able to enter the place first, and, having lined the



Stanford's Geog^t Estab^t

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION.



hedges bordering every approach with troops, and planted his four field-pieces in position, prepared to fight. Albemarle, though his force was superior in numbers, withdrew in some confusion, while Monmouth, distrustful of his own unseasoned men, declined pursuit ; otherwise Exeter itself might possibly have fallen into his hands.

At headquarters energetic measures were soon taken for the suppression of the rising in the West. On June 16th an Act of Attainder was passed against Monmouth, and a price of £5,000 set upon his head. Lord Churchill was made a Brigadier and ordered to start forthwith for Salisbury. He was placed in command of a fine body of men, consisting originally of four troops of the Blues,* four troops of the King's (now Royal) Dragoons, with five more troops under orders to follow, and five companies of the Queen Dowager's (now West Surrey) Regiment. Leaving London on Saturday, the 15th, Churchill was at Bridport two days later, and on the 19th had established his headquarters at Chard, 18 miles south of Bridgewater.†

Monmouth had arrived on June 18th at Taunton, whence he issued three proclamations—one declaring Parliament a seditious assembly, another setting a price on the head of King James, and a third denouncing Albemarle as a traitor.

Of the communications which had previously passed between Monmouth and Albemarle it has been thought

* The Earl of Oxford, as Lord Lieutenant of Essex, was urgently bidden by the King to remain in his own county.

† On the following day he writes to the Duke of Somerset :—" I am now in Somersetshire, and shall join you by following the D. of Monmouth so close as I can on his marches. But I think you should press the D. of Albemarle to join you, for he has a good force of men, and is not so well able to attend the Duke of Monmouth's march as I am, by reason of the King's Horse which I have with me." Albemarle, on the other hand, was complaining that Churchill had not yet (June 21st) joined *him* : see his letter to the Secretary of State, *infra*.

worth while to give facsimile reproductions. A transcript of Monmouth's letter is here appended:—

My Lord,

Whereas wee are Credibly Informed that there are some Horse & ffoot vnder yo^r Command for JAMES DUKE OF YORKE: which are purposely Raised In oposition to vs and our Royall Authority:

We haue thought to Signifie to you our Royall Resentm^t: and do promisfe our selfe that what you haue Tranfacted therein Is through Inaduertenc'y and mistake and that yo^r Grace will Take other Measures When you haue reciud Inform^{ta} of our being procla'med King to Succeed our Royall father Lately deceased Wee therefore haue sen [t] this Mefsenger on purpose to Intimate the sam [e] to you And It is our Royall will and pleasure & wee doe hereby ftrictly Charge and Command you vpon Notice & Recept hereof to Cease all Hostility and force of Armes against vs & all our Loueing Subjects & that your Grace would Imediatly Repaire to our Campe where you shall not faile of Kinde & Harty Reseption from vs: And In default of the premisses wee sha [ll] be obliged to proclame you and all those Vnder you^r Command Rebels and Traytors and shall prosecute both them and you accordingly

Yett we affsure our selfe yo^r Grace will pay a readey Obedience to our Command wherefore we bid you heurtily farewell

JAMES R

To our tru [s] ty
and Well be Loued Coz
& Councillor

CHRISTOPHER DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

Written on the other side of the same sheet, and despatched by the same messenger, is Albemarle's reply:—

The Duke of Albemarles

Answer to the same Mefsenge^r

I haue Receiud yo^r Letter and do not doubt but you would vfe mee very Kindely If you had mee and fince you haue Giuen yo^r selfe the truble of an Inuitation this is to Lett you Knowe that

I Never was nor will be a Rebell to my Lawfu[1]
 King who is JAMES THE SECOND Brother to my late
 dear Master KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

If you thinke I am in the Wrong*
 and yo^r selfe In the Right, when euer wee
 meeete I doe not doubt but the Justice of my
 Cause shall Sufficiently conuince you that you
 had better haue Lett this Rebellion alone and
 Not to haue put the Nation to so much truble

ALBEMARLE.

To JAMES SCOTT
 Late DUKE OF MONMOUTH

Copies of these communications were sent for the
 King's perusal, with the following letter:—

Wellington.

June 21. 1685.

MY LORD,

Nothing considerable has passed since my last to your Lordship; my Lord Churchill has not yet joyned me, and I having no order to attack the enemy without him, would not attempt it; if it had been done when I first desired it, I believe the Rebels would have met with some defeat before this time; the enclosed letter I received last night from the late Duke of Monmouth which I have sent with my answer annexed to it.

I am

My Lord
 Your Lordship's most humble Serv^t

ALBEMARLE.

Lord Sunderland.

For the right Honourable the Earle of Sunderland,
 H.M.'s Principal Secretary of State at Whitehall.

The Secretary of State, Lord Sunderland, wrote to Albemarle in reply:—

MY LORD,

I have your Grace's of the 24th with the letter you received from the late Duke of Monmouth: His Majesty approves very much of the answer you sent to it.

SUNDERLAND.

Churchill, on his arrival at Chard, received from Monmouth a summons similar to that which had been addressed to Albemarle, and with a like result. He at once put in some excellent cavalry work, and pushed

forward a party of Blues almost to Taunton to get touch with the rebels. A skirmish took place in the Forest of Ashill, with several casualties on either side, and Lieutenant Monoux, of the same regiment, and in command of the Royalist party, was mortally wounded.

On June 20th Monmouth reached Bridgewater, twelve miles further on, where he was received with fanatical enthusiasm. He remained two days, quitting the town on Monday, the 22nd, with Bristol as his objective. His march was much harassed by the pressing attentions of Churchill, who, though not strong enough to attack, closely followed and watched him.

Meanwhile the King determined to send strong reinforcements, so as to strike a speedy and decisive blow, and proceeded to appoint the Earl of Feversham General-in-Chief of the forces in the West,* with Churchill as his second-in-command.

On Saturday, June 20th, Lord Feversham, Captain of the Third Troop of Life Guards, started from London with 150 Life Guards, and 60 Horse Grenadiers, under Colonel Edward Villiers, of the First Troop of Life Guards.† Reaching Maidenhead the same night, he next morning sent Major Oglethorpe‡ and Lieutenant Parker§ of the

* Feversham appointed Lt.-genl. of all the land forces, June 26th, 1685; capt. and col. of 1st Tp. of L. G. *vice* the D. of Albemarle, August 1st, 1685.

† Colonel Edward Villiers, eldest son of the fourth Viscount Grandison, was afterwards appointed colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Horse (now 2nd Dragoon Guards). He was made Governor of Waterford in 1691.

‡ Colonel Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Lt. and Lt.-col. of D. of York's Tp. of L. G. November 1st, 1680; like Lord Feversham, had been an officer in the King's Own Regiment of Dragoons. He was a strong Jacobite and refused service under William of Orange. One of the fables circulated about the Prince of Wales was that he was the son of Oglethorpe, who with his wife was occupying an apartment at Windsor Castle at the time of the royal infant's birth. See CHAPTER XXIII.

§ Lieutenant Parker was in July, 1685, appointed Major of the Earl

Horse Grenadiers, with a party of 50 troopers, through Andover and Warminster, with orders to find out all he could of Monmouth's movements. He himself proceeded with the remainder through Chippenham to Bristol, which he reached on the 23rd. After conferring there with the Dukes of Beaufort and Somerset, Feversham left at 4 a.m. on the 24th for Bath, which he had named as the rendezvous for the King's forces. Here he was joined by a troop of Blues and two troops of Dragoons, who had followed him at the interval of a day's march. Oglethorpe at about the same time arrived in Bath, partly to pick up some of his party who had come there by mistake, and partly to report that he had located the rebels the previous evening at Shepton Mallet, and that a skirmish with a squadron of Churchill's force had taken place on the 22nd. Feversham recruited Oglethorpe with a troop of 40 comparatively fresh Blues and some mounted militiamen under Captain Talbot, and sent him back at once to Philips Norton to try and keep touch with the enemy. Feversham himself, who thus far had displayed commendable activity, rode out the same evening towards Philips Norton, when he heard that a party of Monmouth's horse had proclaimed their leader King at Frome. This proclamation was pluckily torn down at once by Lord Pembroke and some of his militia in the face of a hostile majority of the townsfolk. At midnight Oglethorpe sent word that Monmouth with his army was at Pensford, about six miles from Bristol. Feversham, alarmed for the safety of the city, sounded reveille and ordered the cavalry to march at once to Bristol, which they reached before daybreak on the 25th. Oglethorpe with his troop of Blues, in addition to his original party of Life

of Arran's Regiment of Horse (now 5th Dragoon Guards), of which he was subsequently colonel. He was an ardent Jacobite, loyally adhering to King James after the Revolution.

Guards, Horse Grenadiers, and Talbot's militiamen, was apparently ordered to make his way direct from Philips Norton to the threatened city. Marching, as it would seem, with little precaution, this small cavalry force, although it effected a surprise, must also have experienced a sharp shock when it found the enemy in force at Keynsham. Happily, the rebel infantry had preferred comfortable billets to mounting guards or picquets. Oglethorpe, whose approach had been unchallenged, boldly ordered Parker and his Horse Grenadiers to cut their way through the town. Monmouth, under the impression that this party was the vanguard of the royal army, hurried his mounted troops, who were bivouacking on the further side of the bridge, back towards the town, so that Parker now found himself between cross-fires. Oglethorpe despatched a party to support him, which, however, lost its direction, whereupon, with only twenty-five Blues, he made a dash for the rebel horse—about 200 strong—who were endeavouring to cut Parker off, and succeeded in bringing him out with a loss of two men killed, while he had accounted for at least a score of rebels.*

Monmouth, of course, realised at once that Bristol was now beyond his grasp. His disappointment was extreme, and his force began to suspect that the game

* A letter to the Countess of Rutland varies the details somewhat to Oglethorpe's glorification. "27 June, London. Our last intelligence from the West this morning gives an account that Oglethorpe with his troop of Guards had engaged about 100 of the enemy whereof hee had killed neer 80 with the loss of only one man, and my Lord Newburgh shot into the belly. All His Majesty's forces are now hemming in Monmouth and hee must fight his way through or perish. Our ears are full of drums and Trumpetts." (*Hist. MSS., Duke of Rutland.*) The Lord Newburgh here mentioned was the second Earl, who was serving in an independent troop of horse. On July 31st, 1685, he was appointed Guidon and Major in the Second Troop of Life Guards. Two years later he was Lieut.-Colonel in the same troop. In 1691 he is mentioned with Fenwick, Oglethorpe, and Orby as suspected of disaffection towards the Government.

was nearly up. The bright suggestion was offered, however, that Bath, which lay only six miles off, might be captured before Feversham could double back to its rescue. Setting out while it was still dark, and marching along the south bank of the Severn, Monmouth reached Bath, then a small walled town, before daybreak, and summoned the inhabitants to surrender. The answer was prompt. The bearer of the flag of truce was shot down, and the gates were shut to. Monmouth, still hunted by Churchill, made the best of his way south to Philips Norton, which was about seven miles off. Scarcely was the rebel tail clear of the precincts of Bath when the head of Feversham's force, which had marched along the north bank of the river, entered the town. The Foot Guards, under the Duke of Grafton, together with five companies of Dumbarton's Foot and Churchill's column, marched in the same afternoon, and a concentration of the Royal forces then took place. Churchill, with unruffled demeanour and ungrudging submission to military discipline, quickly fell into his place as second-in-command to a General whom he knew to be immeasurably his inferior in military science.

The following morning, June 27th, Lord Feversham paraded his forces in a meadow just outside Bath, and then set out with 500 infantry under Colonel Piercy Kirke,* and most of his mounted troops, in the direction of Philips Norton. The Horse Grenadiers were detailed as an advance guard, while, as was the inconvenient custom of the time, the guns were left to follow with the remainder of the infantry and a sprinkling of mounted men. On the

* Piercy Kirke, capt.-lieut. of 1d. Oxford's tp. in the Blues, with Monmouth in France and Flanders 1672 (see p. 109, note), prom. capt. for distinguished conduct in the field '74, act^g lt.-col. 1d. Plymouth's reg^t in Tangier '80, col. q. dowager's reg^t ("Kirke's Lambs") '80, maj.-gen. '88, d. at Brussels '91. His father was groom of the bedchamber to Charles I.

March a confused story was brought in by some scouts sent out the previous evening, and Feversham pushed forward an advance party to reconnoitre the disposition of the enemy. This party soon galloped back with another vague tale to the effect that they had heard the rebels were about to evacuate Philips Norton. Feversham, distrustful of mere hearsay information, imperatively ordered them to go forward again and not to return until they had actually located the enemy and drawn his fire. In compliance with these very explicit instructions the advance party retraced its steps and was soon able to send back a single file to state positively that the town was still occupied in force and that the party itself was actually engaged with an outpost. Feversham at once hurried forward the Duke of Grafton with some of the First (now Grenadier) Guards, who boldly pushed their way into Philips Norton in spite of a galling fire from behind hedges and walls lining either side of the road outside the town. This plucky little bit of reconnaissance was beginning to cost dearly, with over thirty casualties, when Parker and Vaughan* with a party of Horse Grenadiers, galloped up in relief and, supported by some musketeers under Captain Rupert, extricated the Guards from a very tight place.

Churchill, meanwhile, had come up with his cavalry, who, taking good cover, did some very useful dismounted work, and, in concert with a few infantry, kept the rebels well in check. The guns, which had been toiling in the rear, only got into action late in the day, while Feversham appears to have occupied himself on an open space in flank of the fighting with a sort of parade of the militia regiments commanded by Lord Fitzhardinge, Sir William Portman, Colonel Strangridge, and Captain

* Captain Vaughan reported that he had personally killed the leader of the rebel horse.

Barber. Fighting of a rather fitful character continued amid pouring rain until four o'clock in the afternoon, when Feversham quietly drew off his forces. The rebels had fought both pluckily and skilfully, and whereas they only lost eighteen men, Feversham's casualties amounted to over eighty, the 1st Foot (now Grenadier) Guards alone losing eight men killed, thirty wounded, and eight prisoners.

Feversham, unable to force his way into Philips Norton, and deeming the ground too wet for a bivouac, marched northwards in the early evening to the village of Bradford, leaving the indefatigable Oglethorpe with 100 mounted men to observe and report on Monmouth's movements. The latter, as soon as his opponent's back was fairly turned, made the best of his way through the drenching rain to Frome, which he reached with his tired-out men at 8 a.m. on Sunday, the 28th, and where he was greeted by the depressing news that Argyll had been defeated and had surrendered in Scotland, that an eagerly expected convoy of arms and stores had been captured by Lord Pembroke's militia, and that the King was prepared to send reinforcements of picked men as and when they might be asked for.

Feversham rested his men on this Sunday at Bradford. On receiving news from Oglethorpe, early on Monday, the 29th, that Monmouth was making for Warminster, he set out for Westbury, hoping to strike a decisive blow in that neighbourhood. Monmouth, however, hearing of this intention, changed his direction, and marched through Shepton Mallet to Wells, where he captured a valuable prize in the shape of one of Kirke's regimental waggons, packed with arms and money. At Wells he moreover gave his men—for the most part fanatical Puritans—a free hand as regards plunder and sacrilege.* From

* July 1st. Notes made between the hours of 4 p.m. and 5 p.m.:—
"This Cathedral Church has suffered very grievously from the rebel

Wells, the rebels, unhampered by Feversham's leisurely pursuit, marched through Glastonbury, and, skirting Sedgemoor, reached Bridgewater on Friday morning, the 3rd July. Feversham, meanwhile, had passed two quiet days at Frome, where he received the tents and camp equipment for which he had urgently asked, and, placidly following in the wake of his enemy, arrived at Somerton on Saturday, July 4th, the day after Monmouth had established himself in Bridgewater.

Having received from spies information as to the disposition of the enemy's artillery, he proceeded to requisition provisions and forage for his men and to prohibit the farmers—under pain of being proceeded against for treason—from supplying the rebels.* The Royalist Commander then despatched two mounted parties—of 100 and 30 men respectively—to observe what they could at Bridgewater, while he himself reconnoitred the ground where he proposed to pitch his camp the next day. A site was chosen at Midlesey, but the following morning, when on the move, Colonel Ramsey, the Adjutant-General for Infantry, persuaded him to change his mind, and to take up a position behind the Bussex Rhine, facing Bridgewater, and a little to the west, and in front of the village called Weston Zoyland. The tents for the infantry were arranged in a single line, with the guns on their left and at right angles, while the cavalry quartered themselves in the village. The Royalist army fanatics, who have this very morning laid hands upon the furniture thereof, have almost utterly destroyed the organ, and turned the sacred building into a stable for horses." The Chapter is adjourned to July 29, before which time it is hoped the nefarious rebellion will be utterly put down. "Nor was the President deceived, for that happy day the 6 July put an end to the rebellion. *Deus, Deus nobis haec otia fecit!*" (*Hist. MSS., Wells Cathedral.*)

* In a letter of July 2nd, the King enjoins Feversham to pay for everything taken for the army, but suggests that he should hang anybody whom he thinks deserving of it!

consisted of about 150 Life Guards, 60 Horse Grenadiers, 7 troops of the Blues, 3 battalions of Foot Guards, 3 battalions of Infantry and 16 guns, besides about 1,500 Militia, who, however, never came under fire.

On this Sunday afternoon Feversham ordered a troop of Dragoons under Captain Coy to secure the passage of the river at Barrow, and hearing that Monmouth had determined to evacuate Bridgewater that night, he sent Oglethorpe with a strong party of Life Guards to the N.E. of Bridgewater to cross and examine the roads leading from it to Bristol and Keynsham. He then posted 100 Blues and 50 Dragoons under the immediate command of Sir Francis Compton, the senior cavalry officer in the force, to watch the right front. An advance picquet was furnished from this guard with orders to detail mounted sentries and also patrols on the lane leading to the town. On the main road between Weston and Bridgewater was stationed Captain Upcott,* of the 2nd Troop of Life Guards, with forty of his men, while between these two guards, on a narrow path leading from the town on to the moor fifty musketeers established themselves in a sort of walled sheepfold, on to which the cavalry protecting the left were ordered to retire in case of emergency. At 11 p.m. Lord Feversham rode round the position to satisfy himself that his dispositions were in order. He remained for some time with Compton's picquet at Chedzoy, where he thought he would be best placed to receive any message from Oglethorpe; but, hearing nothing, he returned to camp at a quarter to one, and thought himself justified in undressing and going to bed. Meanwhile, in the Royal camp, only half an hour after the commander had retired to rest, Sir Hugh

* Quartermaster and captain in the Second Troop of Life Guards, to which he had originally been appointed corporal in 1661.

Middleton, of Berkeley's Dragoons (now 4th Hussars) rode in, accompanied by a single trooper, with a message from Oglethorpe that he could not detect any movement on the part of the enemy, and that he proposed to push on towards the town until he could get more precise information.

CHAPTER XX

MONMOUTH had, on the Sunday afternoon, seen good reason suddenly to alter his plans. He had previously contemplated an escape northwards to Cheshire, and had made his arrangements accordingly. But, escape seeming impossible at this juncture, he took a desperate resolve. Accidentally meeting a local farmer named Godfrey, he learned from him of the state of indiscipline and unpreparedness prevailing in the Royal camp.* A surprise seemed quite feasible, even with a force largely made up of country yokels and miners. Relying on this information, he now decided on a night attack. In this resolve he was confirmed by his own observations. Having mounted the church tower at Bridgewater he saw through his glass the exact disposition of Feversham's horse, foot, and artillery. His new plan was to hurl himself on the infantry, which was nearest to him, and to let Grey make a *détour* to the village where the cavalry lay, and set fire to it, thus distracting the attention of the mounted troops. Grey was then to fall on the rear of Feversham's infantry, while Monmouth was attacking them in front. Captain Matthew reminded him of Grey's behaviour at Bridport, where he was supposed to have deserted his party and to have fled back to headquarters. But Monmouth simply answered, "I will not affront my lord; what I have given him in charge is easy to be executed."

To revert to Oglethorpe, who was perhaps by this time a

* See APPENDIX.

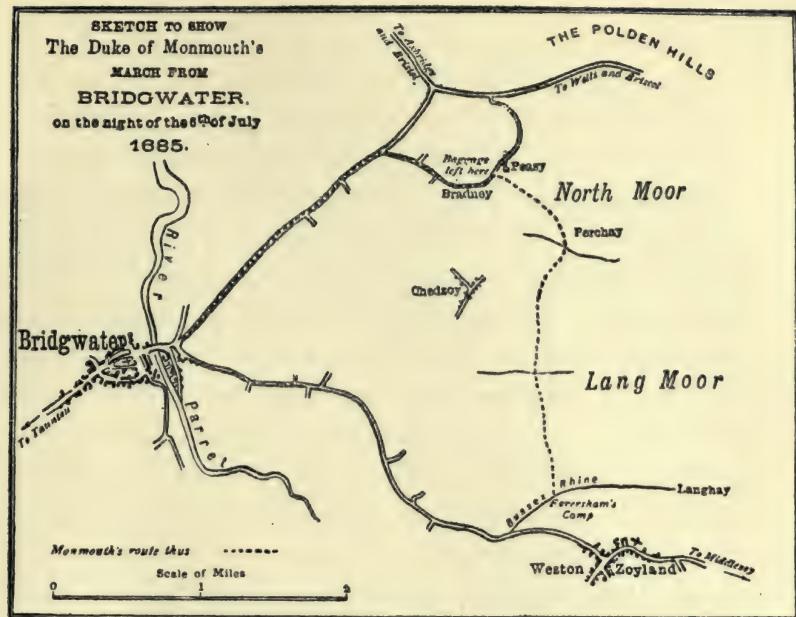
little stale, having apparently had all the intelligence and scouting work to do during the past fortnight. It is impossible to deny that he blundered badly. He contented himself with crossing the road which he had been ordered to examine, and refrained from pushing any patrol up it towards the town. Had he obeyed his orders, he could hardly have failed to learn something definite as to Monmouth's sortie. As it was, he retired through Chedzoy until he hit off the Weston-Bridgewater track, where he turned westward. When within half a mile of Bridgewater he heard that the sortie had been made, and that he was actually in rear of the enemy, who, having marched along the Bristol road for a mile, had turned off to the right across the moor with the obvious design of surprising the Royalist camp. Oglethorpe of course instantly realised the emergency, which he must shrewdly have suspected would be aggravated by the state of things in the Royalist camp, where the troops and even many of the sentries had succumbed to the ill-effects of a boisterous evening. Hurrying his men along the nearest track he could find, he hoped still to be in time to warn Feversham of the danger; but, before he could even reach Upton's outlying picquet, the fight had begun.

Monmouth, under the guidance of farmer Godfrey, had, after leaving the Bristol road, marched in a south-easterly direction, making a sweep round Chedzoy to avoid the Royalist cavalry outpost.

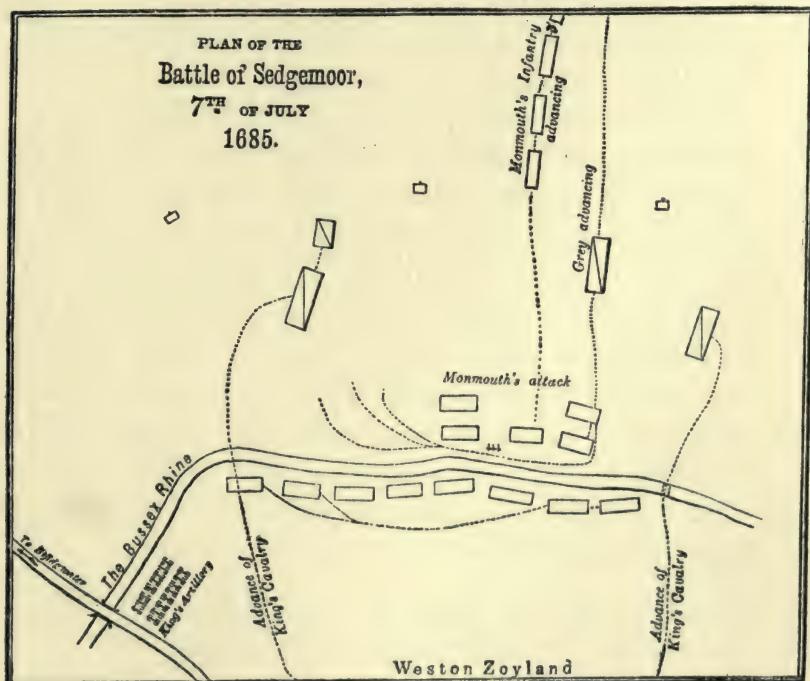
Three stories were current as to the firing of the opening shot of this eventful night attack. Fergusson "the Plotter" asserted that the alarm was deliberately given by one Captain Hucker,* whose subsequent evidence

* This is borne out by an extract from a letter dated 1686 from the Rev. Andrew Paschall to Lord ——:

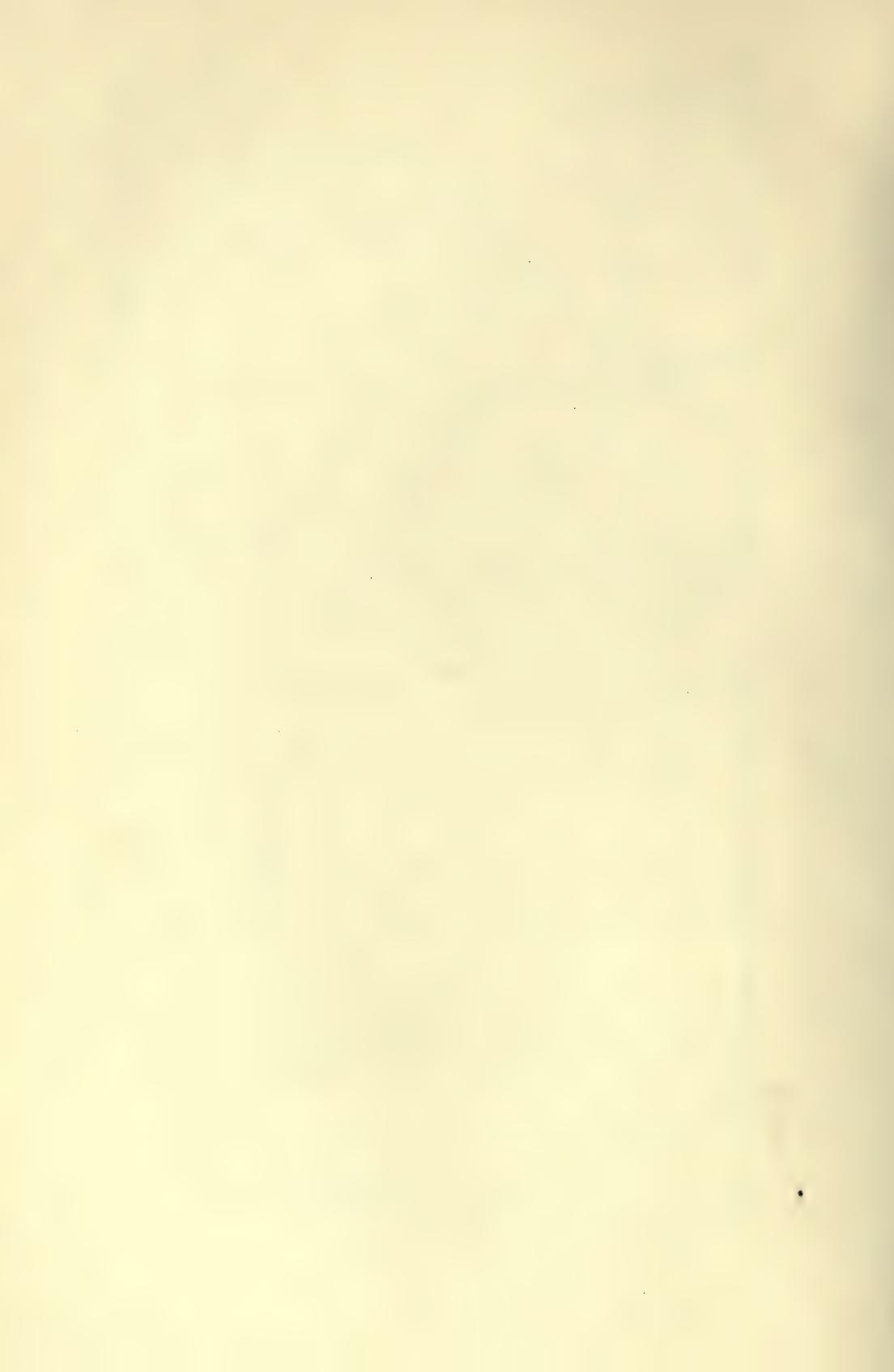
"Sir Francis Compton is very well spoken of heer for his diligence and valour that night. It is now confidently reported heer by eye-



MONMOUTH'S SORTIE FROM BRIDGWATER.



SEDGEMOOR.



at the "Bloody Assizes" lent colour to the statement. Lord Wolseley in his Life of Churchill is inclined to accept another theory, according to which the patrol who first detected the sound of cavalry fired off his pistol as he galloped back to warn the picquet; while a contemporary account states that a carbine went off by accident just before the collision took place between the two advance parties. This shot was, anyhow, the signal for the opening of a brisk fire by the rebels, and Sir Francis Compton was almost immediately afterwards shot in the breast, the command of the picquet devolving upon the next senior officer in the Blues, Captain Edwin Sandys. Sandys at once advanced from Chedzoy with the aim of defending the village ford across the Bussex Rhine. In the darkness he mistook a considerable party of Grey's horse for some of his own mounted militia. As soon as he recognised his error, he made a dash for them, broke them up, and then retired towards the camp, not without several casualties, and having been himself badly hit. The main body of Grey's horse had meanwhile found itself confronted with a wholly unexpected ditch—the Bussex Rhine—where, the friendly guide having previously been dismissed, Grey, whose nerves—to put it mildly—were never of the strongest, found himself wholly at sea. Instead of turning up the ditch to look for a ford, he turned down it, and blundering along suddenly found himself facing Dumbarton's regiment, and a battalion of the Foot Guards on the right of the Royalist line, both containing steady and seasoned soldiers. A challenge quickly rang out: "Who are you for?"—"The King."—"What King?"—"Monmouth and God with us."—"Take *that* with you, then." "That" was a volley poured upon

witnesses that Capt. Hucker who entertained the Duke at Taunton was the man who discharged the carbine or pistol w^h is said to have given the alarme."

the raw rebel troopers, who, thoroughly unnerved by the sight of the emptied saddles and the sound of groans from the wounded, went helter-skelter to the rear, apparently without any attempt on the part of their leader to check or control them.

While the fight was thus proceeding, Feversham had bestirred himself. Hearing that the rebel infantry was actually within striking distance, his first step was to take Villiers, Parker, and Vaughan, with the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers, as also Captain Adderley's troop of the Blues, to work round the enemy's right flank. He rode out with them himself in order to show them exactly what he wanted done, ordering them to abstain from making an actual charge. On his way back he met Oglethorpe hurrying into camp and bringing with him Upcott, whose outpost was no longer of any use. Feversham, wishing to attack—or at least to demonstrate against—both the enemy's flanks at once, now hurried Oglethorpe and Upcott with their men round to the right of the Royalist line, where he found Major Orby* directing a body of cavalry which included the five troops of Blues commanded respectively by Sir Charles Wyndham, Captain Littleton, Captain Sandys, Sir J. Parsons, and Captain Cornwell.† Feversham called them up and ordered them to advance across the ditch and then to wheel to the left and threaten the rebel left flank.

* Major Charles Orby was cornet and major in the 2nd Tp. of L. G.; adjt. genl. for cavalry August 2nd, 1685; on December 1st, 1688, appointed colonel of the Queen Consort's Regiment of Foot, but displaced by William of Orange, in order to reinstate Colonel Trelawney, whom Orby had superseded. In 1691 his name, with those of Newburgh, Oglethorpe, and Fenwick, occurs in a list of persons suspected of sedition.

† A contemporary account speaks of the two troops last named as being at this moment under their respective lieutenants, W. Winde and Selby. It is possible that the captains had been told off for some special service.



AN INCIDENT OF SEDGMOOR. A PRIVATE GENTLEMAN OF THE LIFE GUARDS, 1685.
From an illustration in "The British Standing Army" by Colonel Clifford Walton.

Oglethorpe, with a detachment of Life Guards, crossing the ditch a good deal further to the right, met with a good many stragglers of Grey's Horse, who were knocked down and rolled over without offering any resistance. He was then ordered by Feversham to join up with the Blues and assist them in the charge, or rather the series of rushes, decided upon by the Commander-in-Chief with the first streak of dawn. Churchill meanwhile had been busy with the dispositions of the infantry and guns, the latter being for the most part ineffective. Three pieces of artillery, however, were brought up. This movement was executed with considerable difficulty owing to the darkness and the deep ground. The Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Mews, an ex-cavalier soldier, lent timely assistance by placing his coach-horses at the master-gunner's disposal, besides helping to work the guns. The Royalist guns, when once in position on the extreme right of the line, soon succeeded in silencing the rebels' little field-pieces, which were making havoc at short range with Dumbarton's militia and the Foot Guards. These regiments, which bore the brunt of the fighting, behaved with admirable steadiness, and were only reinforced at early dawn by the Queen Dowager's regiment.

The moment had arrived for a general advance. Churchill had already led across the ditch one of his troops of Dragoons, which, with Littleton's troop of the Blues, eventually charged the rebel guns, killing or driving off every man who served them. Feversham then ordered the whole of the infantry to make the best of their way across the ditch and execute a concerted attack on the already half-shattered enemy. Two rebel battalions alone stood fast and fought desperately against desperate odds. But the final *coup de grâce* was effected by a determined rush of the Foot Guards and Dumbarton's regiment, in which 300 of Monmouth's bravest men fell to rise no more.

The rising was quelled. Monmouth himself was captured on July 9th. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the sordid and distressing details connected with the condemnation and execution of this erstwhile gallant Life Guardsman.

The Royalist victory being complete, Oglethorpe was despatched from the field to carry the news to the King in London. He was knighted for his services and was regarded as the "lion" of the hour. Lady Sunderland wrote to Lady Churchill, "Colonel Oglethorpe has come to-day (7 July) and says that the Duke of Monmouth is routed, and 1,500 of his men killed. Lord Churchill is sent at the head of 500 Foot and 300 Horse to summon Bridgewater to surrender. My Lord says Oglethorpe has your lord's letter for you. I have sent to seek him."

Charles Bertie wrote to the Countess of Rutland, July 7th :—

This morning Colonel Oglethorpe, now Sir Theophilus — arrived early from the Camp. When he was coming away my Lord Churchill was going to summon the town to surrender. (*Hist. MSS., Duke of Rutland.*)

Feversham with his force followed Churchill into the now evacuated town, and remained there two days. He then marched for London with the Household troops, leaving the others for future garrison or other duties in the disaffected districts. He detailed Captain Cornewell* with his troop of the Blues to remain at Wells in charge of the prisoners there. Feversham received from the King a most gracious welcome and the Order of the Garter, and considered himself covered with glory, though it was shrewdly suspected that such laurels as had been gathered in the West were due rather to Churchill for his restless energy, unceasing vigilance, and scientific skill. His

* A fortnight later Captain Cornwell was promoted to the colonelcy of an infantry regiment.

deserts did not pass wholly unrecognised: they were rewarded—inadequately enough—by his appointment to the command of the Third Troop of the Life Guards,* as well as to the captaincy of the whole *corps*, and by his promotion to the rank of Major-General.

* This commission is dated August 1st, 1685.

APPENDIX

A CAPTAIN in the Royal Horse Guards who was still living in 1718 gave the following account of the action of Sedgemoor, in which he took part (See Kennett's *History*, Vol. III., p. 432, note) :—

On Sunday night [July 5th] most of the [Royalist] Officers were drunk & had no manner of apprehension of the enemy, till about one o'clock in the morning, the Horse of the Lord Grey came upon the Out-Guard, who in great confusion asked "Who is there? Who are you for?" One answered, for King Monmouth. Upon which Sir Francis Compton bid fire; & upon that first firing, the Horse under Lord Grey fled & never rallied. Monmouth has sent his Horse under the Lord Grey to wheel about the edge of the moor to get into the village where the King's Horse was quartered & to set it on fire, & then to fall back on the King's Foot while the Duke of Monmouth charg'd them in front. And had these orders been executed; the King's Forces not exceeding four Thousand, must have been cut in pieces. Monmouth accordingly marched up very near to the King's Foot; but waiting for the expected signal of firing the Village, he lost time & gave leisure to the King's Forces to put themselves in order. When the fight began, Monmouth's foot, unexperienced men, discharged their muskets too high, & did no execution; & then Monmouth, as if he had been at the head of regular forces, kept them in too good order; for had he suffered them, after the first empty discharge, to fall on with their other weapons, they would have knocked all their enemies on Head, or have push'd them into the utmost confusion: but the Duke oblig'd them to keep their ranks till the Bishop of Bath & Wells brought down the Artillery upon them; & then they run away, & creeping into hedges & Corn-fields, were started & shot like game, by the King's Soldiers."

The same writer describes the treatment of the prisoners :—

The next day the Earl of Faversham march'd away from Sedgmore with many more Prisoners tied together like Slaves, & making a halt at the first great Sign-Post that stood cross the Road, he commanded four or five of the poor wretches to be hang'd upon it, & would have gone

on in that way of Arbitrary Execution, if the Bishop of Bath & Wells—as the better soldier & the better lawyer too—had not come up & expostulated with him; “ My Lord, you don’t know what you do: This is murder in the Law, & your Lordship may be call’d to Account for it. These poor Rogues, now the Battel is over, must be tried before they can be put to death.”

He adds that “ there was no grounds for suspicion of treachery in the Lord Grey; nor was it so much as suspected, till that Lord had his life and Pardon, which was really in favour of the Earl of Rochester [Secretary-of-State], who found the estate in Entail, and could only enjoy a good part of it during the other’s Life.”

CHAPTER XXI

THE collapse of Monmouth's rebellion had for its sequel some results of importance to the Life Guards, of which one was the appointment of Lord Churchill, already mentioned, to the captaincy of the Third Troop. This had been made possible by the retirement of the Duke of Albemarle from active service, and the consequent promotion of Lord Feversham from the command of the Third Troop to that of the First, vacated by Albemarle.

Christopher, second Duke of Albemarle, has perhaps been too harshly summed up as "the degenerate son of a worthy sire," but he at any rate showed little sign of being "a chip of the old block." Generous, indolent,* and good-natured, he squandered a considerable part of his patrimony, and shortened his life by habits of intemperance and self-indulgence. King James, three days after his accession,

* Albemarle's personal interest even in his own troop was hardly of the keenest. A month after his accession, King James reviewed the Life Guards, on which occasion Albemarle appears to have been not even present on parade, for one of the officers of his troop, Col. Edward Griffin, writes to him at New Hall:—

" 1684-5, March 24. The King last night gave order that he would see his three troops of guards in Hyde Park this morning. I am sorry to tell your Grace that yours was so thin I was ashamed of it, only six score and four in all. On calling the list, I found fifteen absent of whom no good account could be given, so I have ordered them all to the Marshal until I know your pleasure. The King said publicly we were the weakest troop of the three. He was pleased to exercise us himself, and said we were good boys and did very well." (*Hist. MSS.*, *Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.*)

renewed Albemarle's commission as captain and colonel of the Life Guards. The Duke's military career was wholly undistinguished, although, besides his captaincy in the Life Guards, he held dignified posts as colonel both of a regiment of Foot bearing his own name, and of a cavalry regiment—"the Queen's Regiment of Horse." Every allowance being made for the difficulty of utilising untrained levies, his handling of the Devon and Cornwall militia in the campaign against Monmouth must be deemed vacillating and futile. His spirited reply to Monmouth's demands deserves, however, to be placed to his credit. On his return to London he was treated with but scant respect, and his resignation of his commission was unhesitatingly accepted. But a stroke of good fortune was presently to compensate him for these disagreeables. In 1687, as chief promoter of a successful scheme for recovering treasure from a Spanish ship which, wrecked off Hispaniola, had lain at the bottom of the sea for forty-four years, the Duke received £40,000—according to one authority, even as much as £90,000—as his share of the proceeds. In November of the same year he was appointed Governor of Jamaica, but his constitution, already undermined by excesses, quickly succumbed to the rigours of the climate, and he died in the autumn of 1688, leaving no issue.

Louis Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort, Earl of Faversham, a French Huguenot and naturalised Englishman, who was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General as well as to the command of the First Troop of the Life Guards, was a nephew of Turenne and a brother of the duc de Duras. He has been severely criticised as "the general who knew how to devastate, but not to conquer." Though now commanding the First Troop of the Life Guards, he did not, like his predecessors and successors, combine with it the supreme command of the

whole corps, which was, as already stated, given to Lord Churchill.

James, elated by the easy suppression of the rising in the West, believed his policy to be henceforth secure from serious opposition. As during his brother's reign, so now, he was determined, first, to possess an effective standing army, and, secondly, to employ Roman Catholic officers.* He had deeply regretted the wholesale disbandment of troops in 1680, when war with France no longer threatened ; and his opinion was now confirmed by his recent experience of the extreme inefficiency of the militia, and of the impossibility of entrusting such a force with the defence of the country and the safety of the throne.

The rebellion had afforded a pretext for raising new regiments, and the regular troops now numbered at least 14,000: indeed, M. Barillon, the French ambassador, estimated it at 15,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 1,000 dragoons.† James was bent on persuading Parliament

* “There had been a good estate in the family [of Wray in Lincolnshire], but by degrees all wasted, and the Baronetship fell to a young gentleman of the name, whose father, Mr. Edward Wray, was well esteemed by the king when Duke of York, and had embraced the Romish religion. The Aunt to this young gentleman, a good friend of mine, begged of me to endeavour to advance her nephew the Baronet, without one shilling save his pay of one that rode in the Life Guard. I spoke to the King earnestly to bestow a Cornet Standard on him, since so many were preferred that were, like him, not qualified by the laws, and added that if his Majesty would permit him to travel a year for to improve him, and that if the pay would not be sufficient, I and the rest of his relations would make it up. The King answered ‘being in the Guards was a very good school.’ I replied ‘Yes, Sir, in time of war and action; else it was a nursery for all sort of debauchery and vice.’” (*Atlesbury Memoirs*, p. 128.)

† Mr. John Verney, writing to Sir Ralph Verney from Rust Hall, Tunbridge Wells, August 7th, 1685, says:—“His Majestye will have an Army of 20,000 men, w^{ch} shall encamp in the summer, and the charge is computed at 500,000 lb. p^r an^m.”

to agree that the whole of these forces should be placed on a permanent footing, and he meanwhile retained them on his own authority.* In July, 1685, the King inspected 6,000 of his troops at Hounslow, and in the following month an encampment was formed on Hounslow Heath,† where he held a review on August 22nd, of which he sent the following significant account to the Prince of Orange :—

On Saturday last I saw some of my troops at Houndslow; they consisted of tenn battallions of foott, of which three were gards and the other seven new raised regiments. Of horse there was twenty squadrons and one of Grenadiers on horseback, and of Dragoons, and really the new troupes of both sorts were in very good order, and the horse very well mounted. I was glad that the Mareschal d'Humieres saw them for severall reasons.

In defiance of the Test Act, which rendered Roman Catholics incapable of holding military commissions, and in defiance further of the refusal of Parliament at its session in November to sanction an indemnity to the

* The large increase in the strength of the Army would seriously aggravate the old grievance as to the quartering of soldiers on private citizens. On August 25th, 1685, appeared a royal proclamation forbidding this practice :—“And We do further declare Our Will and Pleasure to be that no officer or soldier in their March or Quarters shall be lodged in any private house whatsoever, without the free and voluntary consent of the owner.”

† [1685.]

“SIR,

“According to Order you are to march with your Troop on Friday being the one & Twentieth of this instant August to Brentford and the day following to the Camp on Hounslow Heath so as to be there by seaven of the Clock in the Morning and to Joyn with the Rest of the Regiment & there receive further Orders. Given under my hand this 18th day of August 1685.

“OXFORD.

“To Sir John Parsons or the Officer in Chief
with his Troop at Kingston.

[Endorsed :—] “Sir John Parsons.”

Roman Catholic officers already illegally appointed, James now claimed the right of dispensing with and over-riding the disabling statute, while he also persisted in keeping his standing army.

These plans specifically affected the Life Guards, the three troops of which were in May, 1686, supplemented by a Fourth Troop, commanded by an ardent Roman Catholic,* Lord Dover,† the officers and many of the men being transferred from Lord Dover's regiment of Horse. Fourteen Horse Granadeers drawn from each of the other three troops, with eight recruits, made up the proper complement of fifty Granadeers. This Troop remained in

* "The King created a fourth troop of Life Guards, and his project was to have the gentlemen troopers of Roman Catholics, out of charity towards poor country gentlemen of that persuasion charged with children, and not able to put them into the world. The Captain, my Lord Dover, whom the King loved, and so he was blinded,—that lord a Roman Catholic, but the other officers were half one and half the other, even to subalterns. A country gentleman . . . begged of the King a place in the troop for his son. 'Why do you not go,' said the King, 'to my lord Dover.' He replied, that he had been there, and that Mr. Mollins, his secretary, told him he was to give fifty guineas. 'You are a fool,' said the King; 'My Lord Dover takes no money.' Those the King loved had no faults. The poor man was dashed, and ready to sink into the ground. The King . . . perceiving that the poor gentleman was still there, and as if he had a mind to speak 'You have somewhat to say,' he bid him go on, on which the poor dejected gentleman took a little courage, and said, 'I believe your majesty thinks that the troop is filled with Roman Catholics.' 'Aye,' said he, 'and there are no others.' To end, the gentleman took courage, and told the King that above half of the troops were French Huguenots, and it was actually so; for if a Turk had come, the fifty guineas had been acceptable to that Lord the Captain." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 130.)

† Henry Jermyn, brother to Lord Jermyn, was created baron of Dover in 1685. In June, 1685, he received the colonelcy of a new regiment of horse, named after himself. This was disbanded on his becoming captain and colonel of the Fourth Troop of Life Guards in 1686. He was faithful to King James, for whom he fought at the battle of the Boyne.

existence till January 7th, 1689. Its establishment was as follows :—

FOURTH TROOP OF HORSE GUARDS.

Henry, Lord Dover	.	.	Captain.
Patrick Sarsfield *	.	.) Lieutenants.
Richard, Lord Colchester †	.	.)
Lord Charles Hamilton ‡	.	.	Cornet.
James Griffin §	.	.	Guidon.
Henry Morgan	.	.	Quartermaster.
Michael Steddams ¶	.	.	
George Blount **	.	.)
John Tomkins	.	.	Brigadiers.
Ambrose Cave ††	.	.)
Dr. William Starkey ‡‡	.	.	Chaplain.
Pierre Coudroy	.	.	Surgeon.

* Sarsfield, one of the members for the Co. of Dublin, was a rich Roman Catholic of good family, a brilliant leader of men, but not a very scientific officer; served under Monmouth in France as ensign, in England as a lieut. in the Life Guards, and in Ireland in command of a cavalry regiment and as brigadier. During the Irish campaign he was cr. earl of Lucan and lieut.-genl. in 1691, by Jas. II., to whom he remained faithful. He became a marshal of France and was mortally wounded 1693 at the battle of Landen.

† Son of Ric. Savage, 3rd earl Rivers, whom he succeeded in 1694; one of the first to join William of Orange.

‡ Created earl of Selkirk, 1688. 3rd son of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton.

§ Only son of col. sir Edward Griffin (created baron Griffin 1688), whom he succeeded. Remained faithful to James II., to whom he surrendered his commission at Rochester, December 20th, 1688.

|| Col. of a regiment of horse (3rd D. G.) 1688 under William of Orange. Afterwards master-general of the ordnance.

¶ Otherwise Stedham, Studholm, and Stedholme.

** Second son of sir Geo. Blount, bart., married 1st Vis^{cts} Cullen.

†† Third son of sir Thos. Cave, knight and baronet. Joined William of Orange.

‡‡ Of C. C. C., Camb.

Peter Smith Marshal to the Four
Troops.

William Oglethorpe Adjutant to the Four
Troops.

At this time the whole corps of Life Guards numbered 58 officers, 1,052 non-commissioned officers and private gentlemen, an adjutant, a marshal, and a fire-master, whose duty it was to furnish the Granadeers with fuzes and grenades.

In May, 1686, at a time of popular excitement in London against Romanism, the Hounslow camp was again constituted, and on a still larger scale, the troops now numbering 16,000 * men, or twelve battalions of infantry and thirty-five squadrons of Horse. The men were frequently occupied in manœuvres; the Life Guards, with their Horse Granadeers, not joining till six weeks later. James took his camping out seriously, frequently remaining at Hounslow with his soldiers.† This annual camp at Hounslow, originally intended to overawe, proved itself a most popular "draw" for the citizens of London.

On October 14th, 1686, the King held a birthday review of his four troops of Life Guards in Hyde Park, "all new clothed very finely" (*Luttrell*). The British army was now, says Lingard, generally regarded as "the best paid, the best appointed, and the best disciplined in Europe."‡

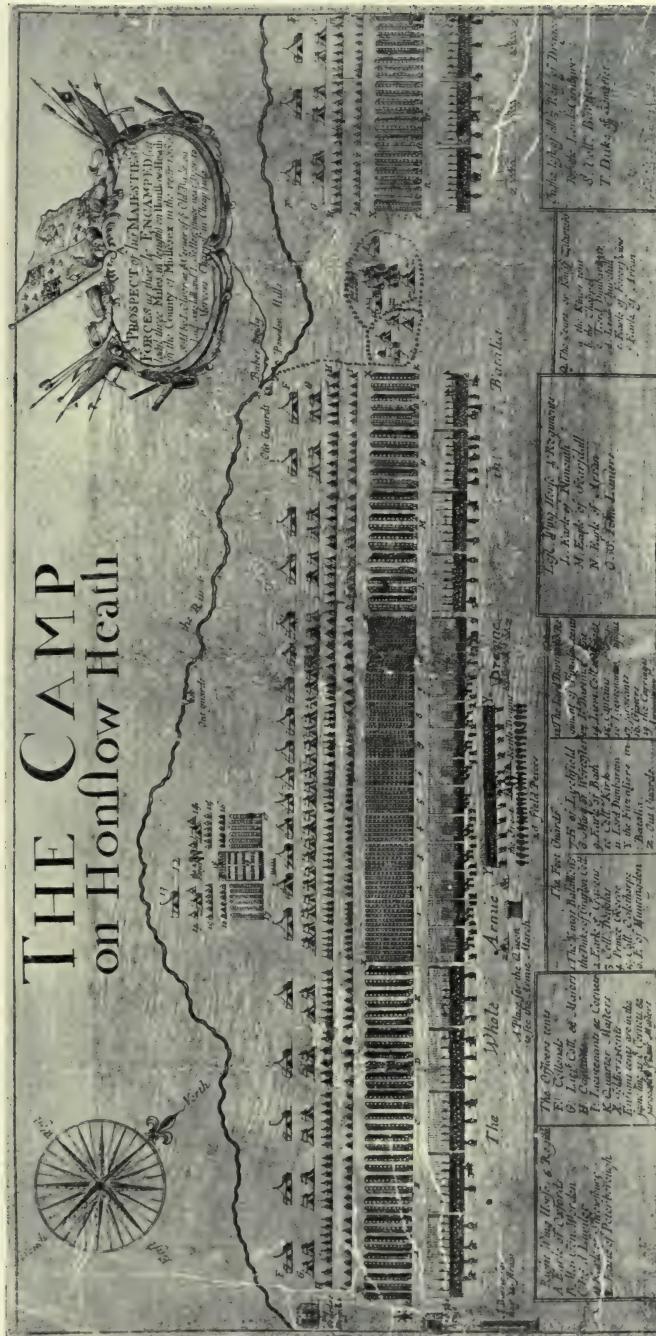
The year 1687 witnessed a development of James's purpose. Conscious that, during the two years which

* The total given in an official list of June 30th, 1686, is 10,144. But at the foot of this document is a note:—"Besides the Forces above-mentioned, there were 3 Tps. of the Horse Guards and Granadiers this day." During the continuance of the camp additional bodies of troops may very well have arrived.

† 1686, May. "The King dines with Lord Feversham at Hounslow on the first day of opening the camp. The weather becomes very wet, and many of the soldiers fall ill and die." (*Luttrell*.)

‡ Lingard, *H. E.*, x. 221.

THE CAMP on Homfallow Heath



had elapsed since his accession, he had forfeited the affections and relaxed the loyalty of a vast number of his subjects, the King was determined to gain parliamentary support by securing a majority in both Houses. The House of Commons he hoped to win by the appointment of returning officers pledged to manipulate the elections in his favour. The Upper House, in the last resort, could be overwhelmed by the creation of new peerages.*

James's policy with respect to religion naturally, by its strenuous hostility to the Church of England, incurred the opposition of the Bishops. The first prelate who openly took up the challenge to the Church was an ex-officer of the Blues, Henry Compton, Bishop of London.† He was not only dismissed from the Privy Council and the deanery of the Chapel Royal, but was in 1687 illegally suspended from his episcopal functions.

When the Prince of Orange's envoy, Dykvelt, was negotiating on his master's behalf for English support, he relied on Bishop Compton to influence the clergy, as he did on Lord Churchill to bring over the army.

* That this measure was seriously contemplated has been inferred, perhaps somewhat hastily, from a curious incident related by Burnet of James's leading Secretary-of-State, the unprincipled and unscrupulous Earl of Sunderland :—

“The old Earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of Company at the Earl of Sunderland, who declared it would be an easy matter to have a House of Commons to their mind. Lord B. asked if they were sure of the Lords, for he believed they would meet with more opposition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to Lord Churchill who sat next him and in a very loud shrill voice cried ‘O silly! Why, your troop of Guards shall be called up to the House of Lords.’” (Note in *Burnet*, vol. iii. 262, ed. 1833.)

† King James, discoursing with him (Bishop Compton) on some tender point, was so little pleased with his answers, that he told him that “he talked more like a Colonel than a Bishop.” To which he replied “that H.M. did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the constitution, and that he should do the same thing again, if he lived to see it necessary.” (Granger, *Biogr. Hist.*, vi. 87.)

Theological controversy, no longer the privilege of the few, became a favourite pastime with the many. The learned divine, Dr. Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had been for some time engaged in a weighty disputation with a certain Thomas Ward before discovering, "to his infinite annoyance, that the grave theologian with whom he had been contending was in fact a layman, formerly a schoolmaster, and actually a trooper in the Horse Guards."*

King James, adhering to his purpose of procuring, by whatever means, the sanction of the House of Commons for his newly-declared policy of "liberty of conscience," did not disdain the method known to a later age as "stumping the country." To influence public opinion in his own favour, as well as with the object of inspecting the defences of his kingdom, he made a prolonged tour of the Western counties. Starting from Windsor on August 16th, 1687, and escorted by detachments of his Life Guards, he successively visited the seaports, examining their fortifications and reviewing their garrisons. The route embraced Portsmouth, Southampton, Bath, Badminton—where His Majesty was entertained by the Duke of Beaufort—Gloucester, Worcester, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, and Chester; and thence he proceeded by way of

* Lingard, *H. E.*, x. 226. Dodd (iii. 459) describes Thomas Ward as "a learned schoolmaster, who, becoming a Catholick in the reign of King James II., made himself known by several books he published concerning religion. Wherein he was so successful that, tho' a layman, he was able to give diversion to some of the ablest divines of the Church of England. He some time rode in the King's Guards, and it was no small confusion to his adversaries when they understood who it was they engaged with, imagining all the while they were attacking some learned doctor of the Roman Communion. He retired to Flanders at the Revolution." Ward's books were *Monomachia, or a Duel between Doctor Tenison, Pastor of St. Martin's, London, & a Catholick Soldier*; *Speculum Ecclesiasticum*; *The Tree of Life, taken from a large Coppercut*; *A Confutation of Dr. Burnet's Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*; and *The Controversy of Ordination*.

Boscobel, Edgehill, and Woodstock to Oxford. Vexed with the opposition offered to his schemes by members of the University, the King betook himself once more to Bath.

Though professing himself highly satisfied with the results of his tour, James must by this time have been fully aware that the prevailing sentiment of the country was dead against him. In any case, he was still determined to carry out his plans for obtaining a packed Parliament. For the realisation of these hopes he relied principally on the Lords-Lieutenant of the counties, to whom he gave detailed orders as to the active measures he expected them to take for appointing Roman Catholics or Dissenters to all judicial and military posts, and for securing the distribution of other public offices amongst the supporters of his policy. The deluded prince had reckoned without his host, however. At least half the whole number of the Lords-Lieutenant absolutely declined the unworthy and un-English job he had sought to put upon them, and were accordingly dismissed with contumely from their posts.

Prominent among these was the Lord-Lieutenant of Essex, Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last of a line of Earls of Oxford whose ancient surname was honoured in England before that of Plantagenet was so much as heard of. "The noblest subject in England, and indeed, as Englishmen loved to say, the noblest subject in Europe,"* was summoned to the royal presence, and asked for a plain statement of his intentions. "Sir," he replied, "I will stand by your Majesty against all enemies to the last drop of my blood. But this is matter of conscience, and I cannot comply." His lifelong loyalty and splendid past services counted nothing in his favour. Without more ado, this great peer, well-tried subject, and valiant soldier,

* Macaulay, *H. E.*, viii. 316.

was deprived, not only of his lieutenancy, but of his command of the splendid regiment which he had by his own personal exertions raised in the King's service; which he had now during a quarter of a century watched over and trained to the nicest degree of efficiency; and which—despite the base and black ingratitude of which he was the noble victim—remains to this day the eloquent witness and living monument of his patriotism, his sagacity, and his devotion.

CHAPTER XXII

IN former chapters of this book the functions discharged by the Royal Regiment of Horse have been illustrated from various regimental orders. Some further documents of the same kind are here given, as throwing interesting sidelights on the Regiment and its affairs.

That Lord Oxford was very precise as to his officers' uniforms is evident from orders he issued in 1686:—

ORDERS BY THE EARL OF OXFORD.

Orders for clothing the officers of his Majesty's royal regiment of horse under my command.

1. All the captains' coats are to be of blue cloth faced with the same, the lace of the said [coats] must be of gold, laid double upon every seam and slits with a gold foot between the two laces. The buttons of gold thread with a gold fringe round the sleeves under which must be laid the same lace as down the seams.

2. All the lieutenants' and cornets' coats must be the same as the captains', only a single broad lace on each seam and slits and sleeves, the fringe excepted.

3. The quartermasters' coats must be of the same cloth as the rest of the officers', with a gold edging down before, at the pockets, slits and round the sleeves, with a broad lace round the sleeves, as the lieutenants and cornets, and gold buttons as the rest of the officers.

4. The pockets of all the coats must be of the same fashion, viz., with two long slits on each side.

5. Every officer must have a black hat edged with a gold lace and with a white feather.

All the cloth for the aforesaid coats must be taken up at Mr. Mannocks, a woollen draper in the Strand, the lace and fringe at Mr. Goslins in Paternoster Row, where patterns are already left.

The trimming of the hats must be yellow, as also the cravat strings.
[Certified copy by Major W. Littleton.]

It is possible to trace the movements of individual Troops of the Blues. In 1686 the First or King's Own

Troop, then commanded by Sir John Parsons, was evidently engaged on escort duty with the Princess Anne and the Queen Dowager, and was also under orders to "wait upon the King into the West" in the autumn of this year:—

[MAJOR] W[ALTER] LITTLETON TO SIR JOHN PARSONS.

1686, June 15th. Desiring him, on June 18th, to march his troop from their present quarters at Edmonton and Tottenham high cross to Westminster.

JAMES II. TO THE EARL OF OXFORD.

1686, August 2nd. Court at Windsor.—"You are to send our own troop, whereof Sir John Parsons, Bart., is captain, this day to Croydon, and the day following to Sevenoaks, to relieve the detachment of horse there, and to send out parties to attend our dearest daughter, the Princess Anne of Denmark, during her stay in those parts." With writ of assistance.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1686, August 5th. Camp on Hounslow Heath.—Order that upon the arrival of the troop in "our dearest consort the Queen's regiment," under Capt. James Fortrey, at Sevenoaks, the King's own troop, of which Sir John Parsons, Bart., is captain, is to march to Kingston-upon-Thames.

[MAJOR] W. LITTLETON TO CAPTAIN WINDE.

[1686, August ?] 12th, Thursday.—"I have just now been with the Secretary at War, who tells me your troop with some other troops march on Saturday next to Reading in order to wait upon the King into the West. Pray let Sir John Parsons know this, and the rest of your officers and soldiers, as they may be ready."

JAMES II. TO THE EARL OF OXFORD.

1686, August 15th. Court at Windsor.—Order for Sir John Parsons, troop to march from Reading to Bristol, according to the route annexed. With writ of assistance.

Annexed:—

Route for Sir John Parsons' troop.—Aug. 17th, to Newbury (15 miles), 18th to Marlborough (15 miles), 19th to Chippenham (15 miles), 20th to Marshfield (7 miles), 21st to Bristol (10 miles).

Apparently the Troop made no stay in the West, but returned at once to Reading:—

JAMES II. TO THE EARL OF OXFORD.

1686, August 25th. Court at Windsor.—Order for Sir John Parsons' troop to begin their march to Reading on Friday next (Aug. 27th).

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1686, September 5th. Court at Windsor.—Order for Sir John Parsons' troop to march from Reading to Maidenhead before Tuesday next “to conduct our dearest sister the Queen dowager” from there to Reading, obeying the directions of Lewis, Earl of Feversham, Lieut-General of the forces.

ROYAL REGIMENT OF HORSE.

[1686, September ?] The duty of Capt. Adderley's troop.—To send fifteen men half way betwixt Newbury and Reading. Fifteen more at Reading to receive the Queen's Majesty there. Six men to stay at Reading to relieve six of the King's troop with the carriages.

The duty of the King's troop.—One man to be sent with an order to Capt. Adderley's troop. Next, to draw up on to-morrow morning early near the White Horse, and to detach off a party of fifteen to attend her Majesty to Reading, and six to go early in the morning with the Queen's carriages. Two men to go with the waggons that the Clerk of the Kitchens sends, and at Reading, two of Capt. Adderley's troop to go likewise on the same duty.

All the troops of the Blues were kept continually on the move. The Marching Orders illustrate this:—

1686, March.—Slingsby's Troop to go from Saffron Walden to Bowe and Stratford; in May to Reading.

May.—A squadron is at Nottingham. Two troops are to march to Barnet and the King's troop to Edmonton and Tottenham. Another squadron is at Newark. Two troops are ordered to Hertford and one to Waltham Abbey. Still another squadron is at Mansfield and Warsop, and two troops are to go to Ware and one to Hoddesdon.

Here is a week's itinerary:—

	Miles.	
Warsop to Newark	15	Thursday;
to Grantham	10	Friday;
to Stamford	16	Saturday, and to rest there on Sunday;
to Huntingdon	21	Monday;
to Royston	15	Tuesday;
to Ware	13	Wednesday.

In June the Regt goes to London, to be quartered in St. Giles', Piccadilly, the Haymarket, and Westminster.

August 22nd.—The 4th Troop is to march from Bury to London “to attend our Royal Person, to be quartered in Pickadilly and Holborn.”

King James's progress to the West involved the stationing of the eight troops of the Blues as follows:—

Disposition of	Compton troop at	Newbury
Troops for H.	Lloyd . .	Hungerford
My progress }	Sandys . .	Marlborough
	Windham . .	Chippenham
	Adderley . .	Marshfield for Badminton
	Parsons . .	Bristol
	Littleton }	Wells
	Ryder . .	
	Slingsby . .	Bruton.

A mustering order exemplifies the King's diligence in mastering and supervising the details of military, as he also did of naval, matters:—

JAMES II. TO THE COMMISSARY GENERAL OF MUSTERS.

1686, June 25th. Court at Windsor.—Order that upon all musters, an abstract is to be presented to his Majesty, with the numbers of officers and men in each regiment, troop or company, the absentees and cause of their absence, and the time of entrance of all new soldiers and officers. Also to specify if any be dead, discharged or run away.

Another royal order closely restricts the leave of cavalry officers:—

1686, September 5th. Court at Windsor.—Rules for the regiments of horse and dragoons:—

1. Wherever a regiment is quartered, one field officer and half the captains to be present.
2. Also one commission officer, besides the quarter-master, present with each troop.
3. If the troops are separated, one captain to be always present with each two troops, and a commission officer, besides quarter-master, with each troop.
4. Where a troop is alone, the captain, lieutenant or cornet and the quarter-master always to be present.
5. In the absence of the quarter-master, two commission officers to be present.

6. One field officer to be always present with that troop of each regiment.

And weekly lists of the officers absent and present to be sent by the commanders to the King.*

A Mr. Burton apparently desires a commission in the Blues and seeks the interest of two of the captains of troops :—

[CAPT.] WILLIAM PARSONS TO CAPTAIN WIND.

1686, July 23.—My brother [Sir John P.] has given Mr. Burton leave to take care of his business now in hand about a commission, but he will not stir unless you give it him also. I pray you favour him, as he is one that I have an extreme kindness for.

* For similar regulations made in 1767 see CHAPTER L., pp. 471-2.

CHAPTER XXIII

IN a character-sketch of James the Second a biographer speaks of the King's singular ill-success in detecting his enemies. Certainly there was one such—and he the most thorough-going, most dangerous, and most relentless of them all—on whom his suspicions never for a moment rested; it was himself. His usage of Lord Oxford was a typical instance of his suicidal blindness to his own interests. A trusty as well as brilliant successor in the colonelcy of the Blues was forthcoming, however, in the person of James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick,* the King's natural son by Arabella Churchill. The new colonel, during his brief command, kept well aglow in the Royal Regiment of Horse the sacred fire of its traditional loyalty.

Only a few days before the coming of the Prince of Orange, James, with proud reluctance, ordered a judicial investigation into the birth of the Prince of Wales, concerning which the tongue of slander had been busy, and which the infant's own brother-in-law, the Dutch invader, in an address issued to the people of Great Britain, at last dared publicly to call in question.† The affirmative evidence, duly enrolled in

* The Duke, sharing his father's exile, took part in the civil war in Ireland, fought for the French in Flanders, being taken prisoner at Landen; became a marshal of France, and was killed at the siege of Philipsburg in 1734.

† “The chief contents of the Prince [of Orange]’s declaration was contrary to his natural belief—I mean as to the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, and I had it from a most unquestionable hand that he firmly believed that birth, but out of policy he was obliged to give way to the current of those times.” (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 186.)



The Duke of Berwick.
From a picture in the possession of the Due d'Alb.

Chancery, was irresistible. Amongst the depositions taken one of the weightiest and most convincing was that of Colonel Edward Griffin, an officer in the First Troop of Life Guards, who was in waiting as Silver Stick on the occasion of the Queen's accouchement on June 10th, 1688, and to whom at the critical moment the attendant physician, Mr. Dawson, had whispered, "It is a Prince."*

James, when the Prince of Orange invaded England, was not caught napping. Not only had he kept his navy in the highest state of efficiency by his personal supervision of its administration, but he had more than doubled the strength of his army till it reached the unprecedented number of 30,000 men. At the last moment, on hearing of the Dutch preparations, James again increased the number of his military forces. To each of the four Troops of Life Guards† he added ten Horse Granadeers. The Scots Troop, which till now had never been south of the Tweed, was strengthened by an increase of twenty men, and brought South to be placed on the English establishment at a higher rate of pay. While the enemy's ships were sailing down the Channel, the Portsmouth garrison was reinforced by a hundred Horse Granadeer Guards. No preparations against invasion, however, could be of any avail unless backed by vigorous action against the enemy within the gate;‡ and this James

William had, in fact, sent Zuylestein to England to convey his warm congratulations on the birth of the Prince of Wales.

* See *Domestic State Papers* (Jas. II., *Bundle 4*), where the scene is described with a wealth of detail impossible to reproduce here.

† Among other details there was a warrant for 800 suits of armour on approval for the four troops of guards.

The hackney coachmen of London furnished the King with 200 horses.

‡ "The discontents were so visible, and more the approaching invasion and the conspirators for one may so call them were so hardy and indiscreet, thinking all sure, that the eyes at Court began to be open, and the King ought to have made a bold stroke. The Earl of

hesitated to take. The Prince of Orange, having disembarked his army at Torbay on November 5th, 1688, the Royal Regiment of Horse was, on the 8th, ordered to march from its quarters at Winchester to Salisbury, where the Duke of Berwick, its Colonel, at this moment Governor of Portsmouth, was appointed to the command of a large force. In the opinion of Berwick himself, Blathwayt, the Secretary-at-War, deliberately delayed for several days to transmit the Duke his orders, on purpose to give time to the second in command, Sir Francis Compton, to betray the regiment to the Dutch invader. Lieutenant-Colonel Ambrose Norton, of Langston's regiment of dragoons, and formerly a subaltern in the Third Troop of the Life Guards, records in detail* how Sir Francis Compton agreed with two other commanding officers that their three regiments should be betrayed to the enemy. In pursuance of this design, they led the troops on the march towards William's camp ; but on reaching Axminster, within six miles of the enemy's quarters at Honiton, some of the soldiers informed Major Littleton† of the Blues, and

Feversham and myself separately were on our knees humbly begging of him to clap up seven or eight of the heads of them, and with the most humble submission I ventured to name the Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Ormond and Grafton, Lord Churchill, Mr. Kirk, Mr. Trelawney, &c., but as it was found, and fatally,* that the King could not resolve, and if he had in all probability his army would have stood by him, and the Duke of Grafton was empoisoning the fleet under my Lord Dartmouth. One thing was observed, and related to me, that when the King was viewing his horses in Hyde Park and their accoutrements, a lord stood by, and he that was the great general afterwards, was seen to laugh and to loll out his tongue and this is true." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 184.)

* Macpherson, i. 288.

† Walter Littleton, capt. in the Blues 1685, major and commanded a troop at Sedgemoor. A month later Littleton was killed in a duel

* The meaning is, "but, as the fact was, I discovered—and a fatal discovery it proved to be—that," etc.

another second-in-command, that "the pretence of beating up the enemy's quarters was but a sham, and that it was a design to desert the king, . . . upon which the two majors so threatened" their superior officers that the latter "stole away" with their regiments, Compton "sneaking away back to Salisbury" (Clarke). On realising their position, nearly the whole of the Blues galloped back towards Salisbury, but were rallied on the road by their new colonel, the Duke of Berwick, who after their departure had reached Salisbury and now came out to meet them.

The number of desertions from the Blues has been variously estimated. King James* himself records that "only Cornet Compton† with two or three subalterns and about ten troopers of the King's Regiment of Horse, deserted," and he refers to this indication of "a greater honour and fidelity in the common men than in the generality of the officers, who usually value themselves so much for those qualifications."‡

These bitter reflections were justified by a bitter experience. The desertion of Lord Churchill,§ who owed everything to the King whom he abandoned, has found few with his brother officer, Captain Adderley, the sequel of a heated argument. (Ellis's *Correspondence*.)

* *Life*, ii. 217.

† Son of Sir Charles Compton, and nephew of Sir Francis.

‡ Thomas Philips, captain of the Company of Miners in the Royal Fusiliers, writes to his colonel, Lord Dartmouth:—"November 16. Yesterday came a letter from the Duke of Berwick's officers at Salisbury, giving an account that the Duke's regiment [Blues] Lord Cornbury's and Lord St. Albans were betrayed into the enemy's hands. Very few officers escaped, only Clifford [Dragoons] and Littleton [Blues] who fought their way through. Most of the men proved more loyal than the officers and come dropping in daily to Salisbury as they make their escape." This account differs in several particulars from that adopted in the text.

§ Only a few weeks previously, on September 25th, the King had sent as presents a complete suit of armour made for Charles II. to Lord Feversham, and another suit "made for our Royal person" to Lord Churchill—a signal mark of favour; yet at this very time the

apologists. His plea of attachment to the Protestant religion, if it might have justified his resignation of the appointments conferred on him by his Sovereign, could not avail to excuse his active hostility towards his former benefactor. Fully determined to betray his master, Churchill awaited a fitting opportunity to execute his design.

There is a certain irony in the fact that among the very first to desert to the foreign Protestant champion were Lord Colchester* and sixty men of the Fourth Troop of the Life Guards, recently established by James and largely composed of his co-religionists. The remainder of this troop, however, under the command of Patrick Sarsfield, kept its loyalty unsullied. It is impossible to doubt that the large and well-trained army opposed to William at Salisbury must have proved too strong for him if only its leaders had been trustworthy. The command-in-chief was again vested in Feversham, as the senior lieutenant-general. The King first despatched two troops of his Life Guards to Salisbury; a third followed escorting the guns; the remaining troop attended His Majesty, who arrived at Feversham's headquarters on November 19th.† Feversham at once informed his royal master "that, though the

latter was already plotting the princely donor's downfall, being almost certainly privy to the proceedings of a pro-Dutch club meeting in Covent Garden under Lord Colchester's presidency, and known as the Treason Club.

* "The Prince [of Orange] was landed so many days before one person joined him, that he was resolving to go back to Holland. At last the Lord Colchester, Mr. Thomas Wharton and others arrived in his camp; this being literally true what could not have been done if there had been but ten thousand French, not one third of what was offered."—*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 186.

† The news that the troopers of his Life Guard and of the Royal Regiment of Horse had proved steadfast reached James before setting out on his journey, "so that His Maj. was satisfied it was a trick upon his soldiers, and has altered his resolution of calling back the army and resolves to go to them in person." (*Hist. MSS.*, S. H. *Le Fleming*.)

private men were steady, the officers in general could not be depended upon." Feversham, it would seem, actually proposed to dismiss all the suspected officers, and to place, for a few days, the most trusty sergeants in their stead.* Next day, in a small skirmish at Wincanton, eighteen miles from Salisbury, Sarsfield's troop, with some dragoons, defeated a party of the Dutch foot.† On the 21st the King inspected his army at Salisbury, paying a special tribute of praise to the Blues and other regiments who had refused to forsake him. To each of these loyal soldiers, both officers and men, was given extra pay, and a general liberty to depart was offered to any in the army who were unwilling to serve their Sovereign.

James's intention had been to proceed in person as far as his advance post at Warminster, where, among other bodies of Horse and Foot under the command of Kirke, was stationed the Third (Churchill's) Troop of the Life Guards. A violent bleeding of the nose, lasting for three days, kept the King at Salisbury—fortunately, as it would appear, for it was afterwards stated that Churchill, Kirke, and Trelawney had designed to seize his person at or near Warminster and deliver him to the Dutch Stadholder.

* *Dalrymple Memoirs.*

† Lieutenant Campbell, at Wincanton, hearing of Sarsfield's approach, determined to fight him. He posted the majority of his men in a small enclosure and "took the road with four or five others determined to be cautious and not fire too hastily as there was the possibility Sarsfield's men might desert and join him." On the approach of Sarsfield, Campbell challenged him: "Stand, stand, for whom are ye?" The answer was, "I am for King James. Who art thou for?" Campbell answered, "For the Prince of Orange." "G—d—n me," returned the other, "I'll Prince thee." Firing now commenced and a sharp fight took place in the enclosure into which the Royalists entered through a gate opened for them by a countryman. The loss on the Orange side was said to consist of Lieutenant Campbell and eight others killed, and on the King's side of four killed and two wounded. (*March of William of Orange through Somerset*, by Emmanuel Green.)

Macpherson (*Original Papers*, i. 280, 599) quotes from Carte a long rigmarole to the effect that in 1745 Alexander Malet testified to an entry in his uncle's pocket-book recording that in 1709 Bishop Sheridan had declared that "several years before" the old Earl of Peterborough had shown him a document purporting to be the written death-bed confession of Sir George Hewitt,* who accused Churchill, not only of plotting the betrayal of King James into the hands of the Prince of Orange, but also of a design to pistol or stab the King's staff-officer-in-waiting, in case of resistance being offered.

Next, on the authority of "another pocket-book" belonging to Malet's uncle, an even more highly-coloured statement is attributed to Bishop Sheridan two years later, which makes Sir George Hewitt in his confession charge Churchill with having purposed, whilst attending the King in his coach as Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, to shoot or stab His Majesty himself, if the need should arise. Colonel Norton—formerly in the Life Guards, later major in the Duke of St. Albans' regiment—quoted a similar statement made by Hewitt.†

* Sir Geo. Hewitt, lieut. & lt.-col. 2nd tp. of Life Guards; a member of Princess Anne's household; cr. a peer 1689; died a few months later.—Cornelius Wood, mentioned in the next note, was brigadier and eldest lieut. 2nd tp. of Life Guards; major of col. Byerley's reg^t of horse, 1690; lt.-col. of col. Wyndham's reg^t of horse, 1692; served in Flanders and distinguished himself as a cavalry leader under Marlborough.

† Norton cites Hewitt as boasting that he and Captain Cornelius Wood would have "done his [the King's] business; for that Wood was to be exempt of the guard, and I should have commanded it, and the lord Churchill would have gone in the King's coach, being in waiting, with the gold-headed stick."

The rule as to "going in the King's coach" is thus elucidated by Lord Ailesbury:—"The King on this landing [of the Prince of Orange] prepared to go down to Salisbury, and after having taken his adieu of the Queen and of the Princess Anne of Denmark, he parted for to lie at Windsor. Whilst the King was with the latter, I told the Lord

In its later and graver form the tale, resting on sixth-hand evidence, may safely be disregarded as a likely product of credulity, senility, and spite. There seems no reason, however, to doubt that Churchill and his fellow-conspirators may have intended to betray James into the hands of his son-in-law. "But, as it pleased God, saith the informant [Norton,] His Majesty's nose very happily fell a bleeding, by which his going to Warminster was prevented."

At a council of war, it was decided, contrary to Churchill's treacherous representations, and in accordance with Feversham's advice, that the King's army should withdraw towards London. That very night the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill,* and others of less note, deserted

Livingston, Captain of the Scotch troop of Life Guards, and in waiting, that each of us would leave our dispute for the place in the coach to the King's determination. My Lord Peterborough persisting, and by the rules there could be but one gentleman of the Bedchamber in the coach, the Captain of the Life Guards, which made four with the King and Prince of Denmark. But if the Master of the Horse had been there (he commanded the fleet) the Captain of the Life Guards had been obliged to go in the second coach, and the reason is thus: The Captains of the Life Guards heretofore rode on horseback by the boot of the King's coach, but the Duke of Monmouth procured that change for himself, and consequently for the others; so this being a novelty the gentleman of the Bedchamber hath the rank of the other in the coach" (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 187). The same authority gives the following, relating to an earlier period:—"The King [Charles II.] was pleased to name me for to attend him, and I had place in his coach to London; Sir Philip Howard, Captain of the Life Guard in waiting, not being permitted by reason he was not a Peer or Earl's eldest son." (*Ibid.* p. 62.)

* "Early that morning [November 24], the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, Lieutenant General, Captain of the third troop of Life Guards, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, thought fit to go to the Prince without resigning his employments,—that had been more in form, although a very bad one,—as also the Lord Fitzharding, Colonel of Dragoons Royal, and the former Colonel of the first regiment of Guards." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 190.)

Churchill, after his abandonment of the King, must have winced on his arrival in the Dutch camp at being told by Marshal Schomberg that

to the enemy. Amongst other deserters was Francis Rogers, Lieutenant of the Horse Grenadiers attached to the Third Troop of the Life Guards, who was at Warminster.

"he was the first Lieutenant-General he ever heard of that had deserted from his colours." (*Clarke*, ii. 224.)

Dillon, an ardent Jacobite, who became a general in the French service, heard from a friend of the Prince of Orange that the latter admired Churchill's talents, but hated the man. Dillon himself, who often accompanied Churchill to St. James's, states that he never saw any English nobleman dine with the Prince of Orange, but only the Dutch general officers; the English noblemen standing behind the Prince's chair. He particularly names Marlborough and Clarendon as thus treated, adding that the Prince would not look at Marlborough. (*Macpherson*, p. 284.)

CHAPTER XXIV

BEFORE quitting Salisbury, the King promoted the Duke of Berwick to the command of the Third Troop of Life Guards in Lord Churchill's room ; the vacated colonelcy of the Blues being bestowed on the Earl of Arran.* Then, leaving Lord Feversham,

* James, earl of Arran, eldest son of Anne, duchess of Hamilton, succeeded as 4th duke of Hamilton 1698, colonel and capt. of earl of Arran's regiment of horse—the 5th Horse, now 4th D. G.—1685, major-general and col. of the Royal Regiment of Horse, July 28, 1685, but removed by the Prince of Orange a month later. Killed in a duel by Charles, lord Mohun, 1712. His brother, the earl of Selkirk, a major in the 4th tp. of Life Guards, was promoted to the command of the 5th Horse, November, 1688.

“James the Second not only continued the Earl of Arran in his post in the bedchamber, but also appointed him Master of the Wardrobe, and on the 28th of July, 1685, conferred on him the command of the First or Royal Regiment of Horse.” (Dr. John Anderson, *The Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*.) It is recorded in the *Memoirs* that in January, 1689, a meeting of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry was assembled in London by the Prince of Orange. Over this gathering the third Duke was President, and the Earl of Arran (which the fourth Duke then was) expressed views adverse to the pretensions of the House of Orange. According to the confession of the Earl of Annandale, delivered to King William in August, 1690, the Earl of Arran was deeply engaged in the plot planned by Sir James Montgomery of Skelinorly for a Jacobite restoration. Being further suspected of corresponding with the Court of St. Germains, Lord Arran was twice committed to the Tower of London, where he remained many months, but was at length discharged without prosecution. Returning to Scotland, he for some years lived in seclusion. In none of the *Hamilton Papers* or elsewhere has any record been found of the date of Lord Arran's resignation of the colonelcy of the Blues. But it seems probable, in view of the circumstances just narrated, that the Duke did not retain the colonelcy of the Regiment. His resignation may, indeed, have happened previously on account of his attachment to the Stewart family.

with most of the cavalry "to eat up the forage on the other side [of the Thames] and remain as long as he could at Reading," James decided to withdraw the body of his army behind the Thames, assigning various bodies of his troops to hold Maidenhead, Windsor, Staines, Egham, Chertsey, Colnbrook, and other important points on the Thames. He himself went on, with an escort of Life Guards, towards London, where he arrived on November 26th, and was astounded to find that his favourite daughter, the Princess Anne, had abandoned him also—probably by direction of her husband, Prince George of Denmark, who had just deserted the King at Andover.* Anne repaired to Oxford, where she placed herself under the guardianship of the episcopal ex-Blue, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, who, fully armed,† headed in person a military party which escorted the Princess on her entry into the city.

The Duke of Berwick's successor as governor of Portsmouth was Lord Dover, the commandant of the Fourth Troop of Life Guards. The King's object in making this appointment was that Lord Dover should have everything in readiness to send away the infant Prince of Wales to

* "When the King went into the coach, he asked for the Prince of Denmark. He sent word that he would follow his Majesty, who ordered one to tell him he would not go without him, so he was obliged to obey. At Andover, at sitting down to supper, the King ordered one to acquaint the Prince that he was at table: and soon after, the King was informed that the Prince and the Duke of Ormond were slipped out of town, and indeed to join the Prince of Orange. There were some others that accompanied them, but I remember the names of none (not being present) but that of Sir George Hewitt, Lieutenant to the Second troop of Life Guards, commanded by the Duke of Northumberland." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 191.)

"The King was hugely surprised when they tould him the Prince was gon, however could not forbear saying, That he was more troubled at the unnaturalness of the action than the want of his seruice, for that the loss of a good trooper had been of greater Consequence." (*Clarke.*)

† "With sword and boots." (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 191.)

France in case the situation should grow worse. It was arranged that a yacht should be employed on this service, under the protection of Admiral Lord Dartmouth, who was in command of the Fleet. When the King left London for Salisbury on November 17th, he at the same time caused the Prince of Wales to be conveyed to Portsmouth, not only as being safer than London, but as convenient for the child's transportation across seas.

In the midst of universal defections from his cause, the King thought it necessary to hasten a step which he had long contemplated, and to preserve the Prince of Wales his son at least for better days.* On the evening of December 1st† the Prince's attendants, with the baggage, were put on board the yacht at Portsmouth, and the royal babe was to embark on the following morning, when the Admiral began to raise difficulties on the ground that it was unlawful to carry the Prince out of England, and that he himself was liable to be called to account if he permitted it, finally declaring point-blank that he would forcibly resist any attempt of the kind.

The only feasible course therefore was for the little Prince to be brought back to London at all hazards and at once, without even waiting for the military escort already despatched by his father. After a narrow escape from capture, the child and his attendants were picked up at Petersfield by two regiments of horse.‡ In those days there was no bridge over the Thames between London

* Writing from Whitehall on December 5th, 1688, the King says, "I think my sonne is not safe where he is, and I think it necessary to have him removed. I have sent troops to meet him, and ordered Lord Dover to command them, and come up with him. If the way be open by land, he must come that way; if the Prince of Orange's troops gett between this and Portsmouth, he must come by sea and in a yacht."

† *Clarke*, ii. 233.

‡ The Earl of Salisbury's and Colonel Hollman's. Both regiments were almost exclusively composed of Roman Catholics.

and Kingston. The royal infant was conducted by his escort as far as Kingston Bridge, whence a detachment of the Life Guards brought their charge in safety to Whitehall. Every preparation had already been made to send away both the child and his mother immediately to France. On December 6th the Queen, accompanied by the Prince and his nurse, left Whitehall under the escort of M. de Lauzun, and after a journey fraught with discomfort and danger reached the French Court in safety.

On December 10th the King, hearing that the Queen and the Prince of Wales had succeeded in embarking for France, determined to take flight himself. He communicated his decision to no one, and even went through the farce, while exhorting the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to perform their duties zealously, of announcing that he would remain constant at his post. Having ordered Feversham to keep an escort of Life Guards in readiness at Uxbridge, James despatched thither a letter to the General, forbidding him to offer any resistance—a command which Feversham and his officers interpreted as an order for the disbandment of the army. Under date of December 11th, 1688, Lord Feversham wrote a historic letter to the Prince of Orange, subscribed by himself and three General Officers :—

Sir,

Having receiv'd this morning a Letter from His Majesty with the unfortunate news of his Resolution to go out of England, I thought myself oblig'd, (being at the head of his Army and having receiv'd his Orders, to make no opposition against any body) to let your Highness know it, with the advice of the Officers here, as soon as was possible, to hinder the effusion of blood.

I have order'd already to that purpose all the Troops that are under my command, which shall be the last order they receive from

FEVERSHAM, LANIER, FENWICK,* OGLETHORPE.

* Sir John Fenwick, bart., of Fenwick Castle, born 1645, beheaded 1697; major of an infantry regt. 1667; cornet and major to the Queen's Tp. of Life Guards 1672; guidon 1674; took over to Flanders and

James, without going to Uxbridge, sent for the Great Seal and the writs for the new Parliament. The latter he threw into the fire, and the former into the Thames. On Monday night, December 10th, the King retired to bed, his nephew, the Duke of Northumberland, as Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, sleeping in his apartment. Within an hour of midnight he rose, bade Northumberland keep fast the bedroom door until the usual hour, and disappeared through a secret passage leading to a private door, where he found Sir Edward Hales waiting for him with a hackney coach.

Northumberland obeyed the last injunction of his royal uncle and former master ; he waited until the morning was well advanced before opening the door and announcing to the courtiers who already thronged the ante-chamber that the King had departed. He then repaired to Lord Rochester and consulted him as to the next step. Rochester's advice was very simple : "Call your troop of Guards together and declare for the Prince of Orange." Northumberland, who must have possessed a positive

commanded in the service of William, Prince of Orange, a regt. of foot composed largely of Northumbrian and Durham gentlemen, and noted for the extraordinary severity of its discipline ; re-appointed capt. and cornet in the Queen's Tp. of Life Guards, 1676 ; lt.-col. in the Queen's tp. commanded by his wife's uncle, Sir Philip Howard, and govr. of the castle in Holy Island 1681 ; obtained from Jas. II. the command of all the militia in Northumberland and Durham 1685 ; at the encampment on Hounslow Heath was one of the lt.-genl.'s 1686 ; col. of Lord Plymouth's cavalry regt. (Sir John Fenwick's regt. of horse), afterwards 3rd Dragoon Gds., 1687 ; resigned his commission to Jas. II. at Rochester Dec. 20, 1688. Noble (*Biogr. Hist. Eng.*) describes him as a man of abilities, but profligate and restless. Lord Ailesbury (*Memoirs*, p. 389), writing of his friend, says :—" He was but a young novice when he came to London, married soon after to the Earl of Carlisle's daughter, and neither he or she taking any care of their affairs, he bought a standard in the Life Guards, and lived in town, and they burnt their candle on both ends." For what in later times would have been known as *l'Affaire Fenwick*, which convulsed Parliament in 1696, see CHAPTER XXXII.

genius for the art of "ratting," did as he was bid, gave summary notice to quit to any Papist under his command, and within twelve hours of paying his homage to one master transferred his allegiance and that of his Life Guards to another.

The King, who had crossed the river, landed at Vauxhall and, travelling along the South bank, reached Emley Ferry, near Sheerness. Here the master of a ship agreed to take him across the Channel, but before sail could be set a party of fishermen boarded the hoy, and searched, robbed, and roughly handled both the King and his companion, Sir Edward Hales. Eventually brought on shore at Faversham, and detained a prisoner by two militia captains * who at once sent to inform the Stadtholder of their capture, the King despatched an urgent summons to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Winchilsea, who came post haste from Canterbury and ordered the transfer of the King and his companion to a decent lodging. A hostile mob surrounded the inn, keeping close watch. The news of these events reaching a council of peers then sitting as a provisional government in London, they reluctantly sent Lord Feversham with 240 picked Lifeguardsmen and Horse Grenadiers to liberate his Majesty; as also Lords Ailesbury, Middleton and Yarmouth, to attend him.

After so long a march Feversham decided to leave one half of his Life Guards at Dartmouth and the other at Sittingbourne, while he himself, with nearly a hundred officers, volunteers, and servants, well-mounted and armed, pushed on all night to reach the King. He arrived at 8 a.m. on December 15th, when the two troops of hostile militia promptly ran away. The King, happy to escape the impolite attentions of his Kentish subjects, set out for

* Lord Ailesbury describes them as "wicked Deputy Lieutenants," and relates how a number of sailors guarded the King from harm.—(*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 210.)

Sittingbourne, whence the Life Guards escorted his Majesty that night to Rochester, and the following day to the metropolis.* At the special request of leading London merchants, made on behalf of a vast crowd of gentlemen and citizens on horseback at Blackheath, the King consented to adopt the Southwark route rather than that by Lambeth—a decision which involved his passing through the City of London.

The citizens, writes Echard (II. iv. 201), “began to turn their Indignation into Compassion, and seem'd glad of an Opportunity to convince his Majesty, that there was never any ill Design against his Person.” The provisional council of peers “appointed four Lords of their Members, to wait upon his Majesty, and to invite him to his Palace at White-Hall; to which, with outward Signs of Reluctance, he consented.” On Sunday, December 16th, “about four in the afternoon [the King] enter'd the City of London, as it were, in Triumph; and enter'd White-Hall, attended by several Noblemen, and many of the Guards; while Multitudes of the Populace crowded to see him, and to welcome his Return with loud Acclamations. And the Night concluded with Bells, Bonefires, and the usual Demonstrations of Joy and Pleasure.” Another writer adds:—“This evening about 5 o'clock the King arrived here in very good health. His Majesty came in his coach preceded by a troop of

* “At Sittingbourne the Horse Guards to the number of one hundred and twenty were drawn up in a single line . . . They begged of me to intercede that they might give demonstrations of joy on the King's arrival, although as they owned it was not military . . . 'tis not to be expressed the joy those faithful Guards were in, the tears for joy running down their faces.”—(*Ailesbury Memoirs*, p. 213.)

“On Sunday, 16th, about noon, the King arrived at Dartford on horseback, and just before the entrance a fresh escort of Life Guards of one hundred and twenty relieved those that had escorted the King from Sittingbourne, and their expressions of joy were like to those before mentioned.”—(*Ibid.* p. 214.)

[Horse] Grenadiers, and followed by about three troops of Life Guards. The people huzza'd as His Majesty went along the street." It must have gratified the lately fugitive Sovereign to receive in London a welcome so enthusiastically loyal as to be comparable to the joyful greeting extended to his brother at the Restoration.

Arrived at Whitehall, James was at once to find, however, that this happier turn of affairs was not destined to last. The Prince of Orange, dumbfounded and alarmed by the evident popularity of the monarch he was labouring to supplant, now dropped the mask, and openly showed his determination to be instantly rid of the King's presence in England. James, on the approach of Count Solmes, at the head of the Dutch Blue Foot Guards, forbade the octogenarian Lord Craven,* in command at Whitehall, to offer any resistance to the substitution of the Dutch Guards for the English. Compelled summarily to quit his palace and his home for Rochester, he was permitted† to escape thence, and to quit his kingdom and his country for France.

* The Earl of Craven, though aged eighty, declared that, "while breath remained in his body, no foreign force should make the King of England a prisoner in his own palace." With some difficulty James persuaded him to withdraw the Guards.—James II., ii. 264: Buckingham, p. xxiv.; Barillon, Dec. 30, 1688. The Guards on duty were the Coldstream, of which Lord Craven was colonel.

† 1688, December. Charles Bertie to the Earl of Danby:—"The King has sent for a blank pass for four persons to go to the Queen, which the Prince has granted, and many believe he will take that opportunity to go himself." (*Hist. MSS., Earl of Lindsay.*)

CHAPTER XXV

THERE could hardly be a more striking indication of the fatuous unwisdom of King James's dealings with his people, or of the success of his policy in alienating them from his person, than the fact that they should have consented, albeit with a wry face, to accept the rule of a foreign Prince.

The Stadholder, on being notified by Feversham of the disbandment of the troops consequent upon King James's first flight from Whitehall, ordered that they should at once be called together again, and despatched Churchill to London to collect the private gentlemen of the Third Troop of the Life Guards, of which he had been re-appointed the commandant. On his own arrival in London the Prince caused the whole of the disbanded army to be reconstituted. His first act was one of equal justice and wisdom: it was the reinstatement of Aubrey De Vere, Earl of Oxford, in his old place at the head of his own regiment.*

Naturally the Fourth Troop of Life Guards, as being largely composed of Roman Catholics, found small favour under William of Orange, and was destined after a brief interval to be disbanded.† More than one of its officers

* On February 1st, 1689, the House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to the Army for having "testified their sturdy adherence to the Protestant Religion, and been instrumental in delivering this country from Popery and Slavery." A copy of this vote was forwarded to Lord Oxford by the Secretary at War with a request that it should be read at the head of his regiment.

† 1689, January 1st. "These are to authorize you that the fourth troop of Horse Guards and Grenadiers whereof Lord Dover was

had, like James Griffin,* anticipated this event by tendering the resignation of their commissions to their departing Sovereign at Rochester. In its place a troop of Dutch Guards under the Count of Nassau, more commonly designated Monsieur Overkirk, was foisted on to the English establishment. Yet, though the Stadtholder insisted on the Life Guards being once more embodied, he decisively forbore to trust himself to their care. The English portion of the royal body-guard was promptly packed off to a safe distance from London. The First Troop was sent away to Maidstone, the Second was banished to Chelmsford, the Third was relegated to St. Albans, the Fourth, until dissolution overtook it, was quartered at Epsom and Ewell, while the Scots Troop was kept at arm's length at Bicester; the Blues, in their turn, being ostracised from the metropolis at far-off Northampton.† The only body-guard on which the new ruler felt he could rely was the one he had brought with him from abroad—a singular and

late Captain and Colonel be duly mustered and that thereupon an accompt be taken of the pay due to the officers and Soldiers thereof, and having first discharged the quarters of the Said troop, you are to disband and dismiss them so as to be no longer in our pay and entertainment, and to take care that the officers and soldiers be pay'd and satisfied to the day of their disbanding.

“To D. Crawford and Charles Tole.” (*Marching Orders.*)

* James Griffin, lt. and lt.-col. of the 4th tp. of L. G. under lord Dover; resigned at Rochester Dec. 20th, 1688.

† *London Gazette*, 2411, 2413. (December, 1688.) In September of the following year an order was issued for “eighty Gentlemen of our Horse Guards to be near our person at Newmarket,” and in October for “forty-five Gentlemen of our Horse Guards to be quartered near us at Kensington Palace.” (*Marching Orders.*) But in both cases the reference may be to the Dutch Troop only.

In August, 1689, the Scots Troop were brought to London, being sent back to Edinburgh in 1690. They were afterwards in London till the Peace of 1697.

The Blues were in March, 1689, ordered to Berwick-on-Tweed; on April 6th this was cancelled on its being decided to send them to Flanders (*vide* p. 235), the Third Troop of the Life Guards then going to Northampton.

significant practical commentary on his recent vehement protestations that he had come amongst Englishmen as their Deliverer and Protector. The Prince of Orange's adherents found their confidence in their Hero from Holland further shaken by his arbitrary arrest and imprisonment at Windsor of Lord Feversham, the bearer of King James's last letter, under the frivolous pretence that the Earl had no passport to the Prince's quarters.

Feversham* was granted his release as a favour to the Dowager Queen, who declared that she could not enjoy her nightly game of basset without him!† He was, however, superseded in the command of the First Troop of Life Guards by a nobleman who had been Master of the Horse to the same august lady, Richard, Earl of Scarbrough.‡ A fortnight later the Duke of Northumberland

* It must be admitted that Feversham, though a Protestant, exhibited a rather lukewarm devotion to the cause and person of William. In June, 1690, Queen Mary writes to her consort in Ireland :—"The parson has been examined on a report that Lord Feversham forbade him saying the prayer for your success at Somerset House. Lord F. came yesterday to my bedchamber and begged me to excuse his fault which I could not do as it concerned your person. The Queen Dowager sent me a compliment yesterday on my swelled face." Two years later, when France threatened an invasion of England, Feversham, as a suspected ally of James, was politely invited to retire to Holland, which he stoutly refused to do, pleading his rights as a peer and a British subject. Queen Anne, however, was very gracious to him and even deferred to his advice as to the method of her wearing the Garter-ribbon. Feversham died in 1709, and was buried, first in the Savoy Chapel, and thirty years later in the Abbey Church at Westminster.

† "On the same evening he was pleased to make a Public visit to the Queen Dowager, and among other questions in a pleasant air, he asked Her Majesty 'How she passed away her time,' and 'Whether she played at Basset?' Upon which the Queen took this opportunity, with a neat turn to tell him of his confining the Earl of Feversham, answering his Highness, 'that she has not play'd at that game since the absence of her Chamberlain who used to keep the bank.' The Prince immediately took the hint & generously told her, 'He would by no means interrupt her Maj.'s diversions,' and the next day set the Earl at liberty." (*Echard.*)

‡ Richard Lumley, created baron Lumley 1681; raised an independent

reaped the reward of his timeserving. Having incurred the disfavour of his new King, he was relieved of his military duties, his captaincy of the Second Troop of Life Guards being transferred to James, second Duke of Ormond, grandson of the famous Irish Viceroy.

The Crown of England having been offered by a number of persons (who had no right to dispose of it) to two distinguished individuals (who equally had no right to accept it), the "glorious Revolution" was complete, leaving only unsolved the curious, if purely academic question, how far it is possible, within the same realm and over the same subjects, for a male and a female sovereign to bear joint and simultaneous rule. The problem received a practical solution by William's usurpation of the whole sovereign power for himself.

Proclamation of William and Mary was made on Ash Wednesday, and, contrary to recent precedent, their Coronation took place on April 11th, instead of St. George's Day. For this occasion the three English troops of Life Guards were temporarily summoned to London. King William made no changes of importance in their accoutrements, while he effected several substantial improvements in their organisation. The four brigadiers were promoted exempts, with the rank of captain, and their pay was increased to 12s. per day; the sub-brigadiers were promoted brigadiers, with the rank of lieutenant and 10s. a day; four private gentlemen were promoted sub-brigadiers, with the rank of cornet and 5s. a day. An adjutant was

troop of horse for the service of the King against Monmouth's rebellion 1685; after Sedgemoor, in command of a party of militia, captured Monmouth; his troop of horse incorporated into a regiment (now 6th D. G.) of which he was colonel. Joined William of Orange, becoming privy councillor and gentleman of the bedchamber; received the command of the First Troop of Life Guards 1689 (August 21), created viscount Lumley 1689 (April 10), and earl of Scarbrough five days later.



James 2nd Duke of Ormond.

appointed to each troop, and the commission of quartermaster and captain abolished.

Just a month before the Coronation, on March 22nd, King James had landed at Kinsale with nearly 18,000 men, soon afterwards making his public entry into Dublin. He found his authority recognised throughout all Ireland, except at one or two points in the north, where, however, the Protestants organised a sturdy resistance. William, resenting the assistance given by Louis XIV. to James, declared war against France at the beginning of May. Lord Oxford's Regiment, which, notwithstanding the leading part which it took at Northampton in the formal proclamation of the new *régime*, was more than suspected of favouring the old one, was promptly exported to Flanders, in accordance with the same policy which induced William to import his Dutch troops into England.

The Blues* formed part of a considerable British force under Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, which also included the Second Troop of Life Guards,† under its new commander, the Duke of Ormond.‡ The ex-captain of the Second Troop, the Duke of Northumberland, volunteered for active service and was attached to the

* 1689, April 10th. Lord Oxford was ordered to enrol 30 troopers each from Lord Colchester, Colonel Godfrey, and Colonel Langston's regiments into the Blues, and to embark them for Flanders at Greenwich. (*Marching Orders*.)

† From an abstract of the numbers and pay of English forces sent into Holland:—"2nd troop of Guards and Granadiers, 256 men and 31 officers; Earle of Oxford Regt, 450 men, 85 officers." 1689, May 14th. Marlborough sailed with the Second Troop. A delay occurred in their embarkation through the non-arrival of their provisions, for which the Treasury had neglected to supply the money. (*W.O., Sec.'s Out-Letter Bk.*)

‡ "Whitehall, 23 April 1689. My Lord,—By virtue of His Majesty's orders to me directed, relating to the forces going to Holland, I desire your Grace to take care that the second troop of Guards, under your Grace's command, be shipt at Deptford as soon as may be, and sail to Rotterdam; from whence notice is to be given to Prince

force. This nobleman was evidently determined to campaign in comparative comfort, as there is a warrant for him to proceed to Holland with three gentleman attendants, one page, two footmen, a waggoner, a sumpter man, and three grooms.*

The allied army, under the Prince of Waldeck, augmented by the English contingent to about 35,000 men, crossed the Sambre in mid-August, and encamped about a mile behind Walcourt—a little enclosed town nine miles to the south of Charleroi—within which a German regiment was placed as a temporary garrison.†

Waldeck of their arrival, for his orders concerning the further disposal of them. [Signed] CHURCHILL. To the Duke of Ormond." (*Ibid.*)

The following letter illustrates the kind of questions liable to arise in connection with preferment in the Life Guards:—

The Earl of Shrewsbury (Secretary-at-War) to the Duke of Ormond:—"Whitehall Aug 30 1689 . . . I have directed the commissions you mention to be prepared. Before presenting them to the King, I would remind you that Lord Marlborough, according to the powers usually granted to those commanding the King's forces abroad, has it in his commission to supply all vacancies until the King's pleasure is known. I believe you would not knowingly propose anything derogatory to the powers granted to the Earl of Marlborough, as I am confident he will consent to anything you think of advantage to your troop in encouraging the under Officers and gentlemen by preferring them gradually; and therefore it were best for you to confer together on this matter. In the meantime I will acquaint His Majesty that you have an Officer more fit for a pension than to be continued in command, and endeavour to obtain directions that room may be made for a person more capable of Serving." (*W. O. Letter Book.*)

* This foible—common to many generations—is ridiculed in Shadwell's play, "The Volunteers":—

Sir Nicholas: "Why I carry Two Laundresses on purpose for my Points and Laces. Dam me—would you have a gentleman go undressed in a Camp? Do you think I would see a Camp if there were no dressing? Why I have two campaign suits—one trimmed with flanders Lace, and the other with rich point. Pshaw! you are for your old fashioned slovenly war. War is another thing now. We must live well in Camp now; that is our business!"

† 1689, August 19th. Walcourt. Capt. Billingsley and Sir Richard Brown [2nd Tp. L. G.] a son of the senior alderman in London, fought a duel on horseback in which the latter was killed. (*Luttrell.*)

Early on the morning of August 25th, 1689, large foraging parties were pushed out in advance of the army, covered by 600 English and 200 other troops, under the command of Colonel Hodges. About nine o'clock the French were seen approaching, and some Danish and Dutch horse, sent to check the enemy's advance, were quickly driven in. The English commander, lining the hedges with his musketeers, for over two hours resisted the attack, until all the foragers had returned to camp. Retiring slowly to a windmill, he took up a new position behind some outhouses, where the creditable shooting of his men enabled him to hold the place for an hour against great odds. Marlborough now ordered his retirement to an elevation on the east of Walcourt, which was successfully carried out with a loss of two officers and thirty men killed.

Baffled in his attempt in this direction, D'Humières, the French general, ordered an assault on the town ; but after repeated and desperate efforts he realised the impracticability of carrying it by assault. Finally he turned his attention to a hill on the west side, where the allies were by no means well placed to meet a superior force. The position here became so critical that a counter-attack urged by Marlborough was resolved on. Leading the Life Guards and Blues, Marlborough flung himself on the enemy's flank, while General Slagenburg, advancing from the other side of the town, made a simultaneous attack. The fight lasted until the evening, when the French retreated in confusion with a loss of nearly 2,000 killed.*

The fighting of a duel between two military men on active service reflects curiously on the state of discipline then existing.

* "Versailles, 28 Août. Les paysans et les prisonniers que l'on avoit pris ayant assuré M. le Maréchal d'Humières qu'il y avoit beaucoup de brèches à Valcour il l'avoit fait attaquer par le régiment des Guardes et par la brigade de Champagne, mais comme le porte de Valcour étoit

The Marquis de Feuquières thus wrote of his compatriot's tactics:—"Je n'ai point de reflexion instructive à faire sur ce sujet que celle de dire que ce combat ne doit jamais être cité que pour en défendre l'imitation."

"Nous y avons perdu 200 ou 300 soldats des gardes blessés et tués et beaucoup d'officiers.

"29 Août. Il vient d'arriver un courrier du Maréchal qui mande que les ennemis ont perdu plus de mille hommes."

soutenu par l'armée des ennemis et qu'ils le raffrachissoient de monde à tout moment, nous n'avons pu l'emporter d'autant plus que les brèches n'étoient point du côté de notre attaque, et étoient toutes du côté de ennemis."

CHAPTER XXVI

IN Ireland during the remainder of 1689 and the former half of 1690 the cause of King William made little effective progress, though the Protestants of the North, whose position was getting desperate, received succours in August, when 10,000 English and Dutch arrived under Marshal the Duke of Schönberg—known in our annals as Schomberg. After several months' operations he encamped near Dundalk, where during an unusually wet autumn his force of 14,000 men suffered from pestilence a mortality amounting to 6,300 men. Thus nearly one-half of an army of fine lusty English youths perished miserably from the sheer criminal negligence of the authorities at home. King James, on his side, acknowledges a loss of nearly 15,000 out of his army of 40,000 men.

As the summer of 1690 approached, William determined to carry on his fight with France rather in Ireland than in Flanders, to bring the strength of his army in Ireland up to 30,000 men, and to take the command of it in person. The Second Troop of Life Guards, recalled from Holland,* combined with the Scots Troop in forming a bodyguard for Queen Mary in England, the latter shortly

* 1690, May 10. Twenty vessels arrived at Spithead from Holland, having on board the Duke of Ormond's Troop of Guards and the Earl of Oxford's Regiment of Horse, which landed on the 11th and are quartered in the adjacent parts. (*Luttrell.*)—May 10. The Second Troop was ordered to march by Petworth, Horsham, and Kingston, to London (*Marching Orders.*)—May 20. The 2nd troop of Guards sworn at Whitehall before the Earl of Marlborough and Commissary Crawford. (*Luttrell.*)

after returning to Edinburgh. The Royal Regiment of Horse, also withdrawn from Flanders,* disembarked at Portsmouth on May 11th, and on May 15th commenced its march to Highlake in Cheshire.† To the same port were despatched‡ the First,§ Third,|| and Fourth (or Dutch)§ Troops of Life Guards, which early in June embarked for Ireland in time to receive William, who on the 14th landed at Carrickfergus. On the 19th and 20th of the month the Blues embarked at Highlake, and after landing in Ireland were sent to county Down. Lord Oxford's Regiment and Lord Portland's Dutch Regiment of Blue Guards, having arrived in the camp at Loughbrickland within a few days of each other, both with blue uniforms, the name of "Oxford Blues" attached at once to the Royal Regiment of Horse to distinguish it from *ces autres* of the Dutch variety.

The strength of King William's army at the battle of the Boyne, fought on July 1st, 1690, has been variously calculated at 36,000—Burnet's estimate—and 40,000, the

* See note (*) p. 239.

† The different troops of the Blues, on their arrival at Portsmouth, were quartered at Fareham, Havant, Alresford, Alton, Basingstoke, Hartley Row, and Hartford Bridge. (*Marching Orders*, 1690, April 22nd.) They went to their port of embarkation by different routes: one to Betley, others to Sanbach, Congleton, Middlewich, Northwich, Knutsford, Altringham, Macklesfield, and Nantwich, and were "to remain there respectively till notified that shipping is ready, when they are to embark at Holyake." (*Ibid.* May 10th.)

‡ 1690, January. List of the forces to be transported into Ireland includes among English Horse two Troops of [Life] Guards and one of Grenadiers.—(*Dom. S. P.*)—May. Sixteen horse tents are ordered to be supplied for the Grenadiers of the Third Troop of Horse Guards.

§ 1690, May 17th. The Dutch Troop is ordered "to quarter at Newcastle[-under-Lyme] and the First Troop at Litchfield till shipping is ready at Holyake." (*Marching Orders*.)

|| 1690, May 22nd. "The Third Troop of Guards to march to Nantwich and remain there till shipping is ready at Holyake." (*Marching Orders*.) June 3rd. "On Wednesday the Third Troop of Guards with Grenadiers came to Chester for Holyake."

figure adopted by King James, who sets down the number of his own troops at only 20,000. Burnet puts it at 26,000. An authoritative list of James's troops throughout Ireland after the battle of the Boyne shows a force of Foot of 32,950, and of Horse, 12,310, or a total of 45,260. On all hands it is conceded that William's troops at the battle of the Boyne considerably outnumbered those opposed to him, while the latter enjoyed the advantage of a superior position. The impulsive character of James's Irish troops was the determining factor of both the strategy and the tactics adopted by either side. James knew well that his better course would have been to withdraw into the mountains, where the enemy's strength would gradually have worn itself out in futile attacks. On the other hand, he was conscious that his Irish soldiers, soon dispirited by strictly defensive strategy, would desert his standard. William had also heard enough of the character of the Irish soldiery to convince him that they were undisciplined, headstrong, and liable to yield to a sustained attack. He relied also on the steadiness of his English troops, which he had witnessed in Flanders, and on the coolness of his Dutch and Huguenot veterans. These reasons influenced him, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, in favour of making his principal tactical operation a frontal attack directed from his own centre on the centre of the enemy's position. His opinion was confirmed by a reconnaissance made on the eve of the battle, when he himself was slightly wounded in the shoulder, and three of the Life Guards who formed part of his escort were killed. An examination of the Irish position decided his plans, the general design being to force the passage of the river. To this end three movements were arranged. His right wing* of horse and foot were to march along the river to

* A contemporary writer states that "the right wing comprised nearly all the English Horse—in all about 8,000."

the right, to cross the stream at or near Slane Bridge, and so to fall on the enemy's left flank. Meanwhile the left wing of the English horse was to cross and interpose a strong force between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. These two operations were subordinate to the real attack in force to be made in front by the main body of the infantry—mostly Dutch and Huguenot—who were to force their passage of the river, by the ford, near the Old Bridge. Each of these movements duly "came off." James, on perceiving that his left flank was menaced, at once heavily reinforced it, so that here the attack, when once the river had been passed, made only slow headway. But it succeeded sufficiently to warrant the resolute and unflinching central advance through the water, which, combined with the forcing of the river on the Drogheda side, broke the resolution of the Irish, who gave way and fled.

Though the accounts of the battle are fairly full, so far as the various operations are concerned, the particulars relating to the action of individual British regiments are disappointingly meagre. Story observes of the English forces, "there were few of them that had an opportunity at this place to shew themselves, but those who had acquitted themselves very well." Of the part assigned to the Blues, scarcely anything is recorded, except that they were present on the field, forming part of a force of horse commanded by Villiers under Lord Oxford. The First, Third, and Fourth Troops of Life Guards, with the 5th and 7th Dragoon Guards, were included in De Meme's Brigade under Lord Portland. But of their actual achievements the only one named is their passing the river with King William, as a portion of the left wing. The Horse Grenadiers attached to the two Troops appear to have acted on this occasion as a unit, under the command of Captain the Hon. George Cholmondeley.

The importance of the political issues which depended on the result of the battle has tempted some narrators to eke out their story of its actual circumstances by prolixity of description and by somewhat over-emphasising the prowess of the victors. In point of fact, there could never for one moment have existed the least doubt as to the result of any struggle in which the undisciplined hordes of the Celtic fringe were pitted against the seasoned troops of the predominant partner.

The victory won, the pursuit was not vigorous. Drogheda surrendered the day after the fight, and the English army moved towards the capital. James, on leaving the field, had ridden at full speed to Dublin. At the Castle gate he was met by the still beautiful Frances, Duchess of Tyrconnel, widow of a brilliant Life Guards' officer* and wife of a Viceroy dubbed by his enemies "lying Dick Talbot." To her hospitable offer of supper the fallen King replied, "Madam, my breakfast to-day has been such as to leave me no appetite for any other meal." Next day, in a speech, half pitiful, half dignified, addressed to the Mayor and leading Roman Catholics of the city, he complained bitterly of the cowardice displayed by the Irish troops, and then, referring to the threat of some of his adherents to burn Dublin rather than hand it over to the English, declared that such an act would reflect lasting dishonour on himself, and could only provoke cruel reprisals.

Once more taking horse, James rode across the mountains of Wicklow, reaching Waterford at sunrise on July 3; proceeded thence by sea to Kinsale, and there embarked on a French vessel for Brest.

* For Count George Hamilton see a note in CHAPTER X., p. 92

APPENDIX

THE rules as to the recovery of debts due from soldiers (*vide* p. 103) were applied to the Dutch troops equally with the English :—

1690, February 21st. Petition of Williams, innkeeper of the Crown Inn, Kensington, praying that some of the King's Horse Guards who owe him money may be ordered to pay the same. Referred to Mons. Overkirke, Captain of the Fourth Troop of Guards, and Viscount Lumley, Captain of the First Troop.

Permission was given to individuals to volunteer for active service with the Life Guards in Ireland :—

1690, May 24th. Leave of absence to Captain Thos. Smith, of the Second Troop of Life Guards, for six months to go to Ireland.

1690, July 9th. A pass granted for Sir James Hayes, who goes to serve as a volunteer in the Duke of Ormond's Troop of Guards.

An interesting commission is that of Frederick William de Roye de Rochefoucauld, Count de Marton, a French Huguenot, who, after serving in Denmark under his father, the Comte de Roye, received a commission in the First Troop of Life Guards during the civil war in Ireland, yet was obliged five years afterwards to become a naturalised subject (1695). He was colonel of a French refugee regiment in the British service, 1695-9 :—

1690, December 23rd. Frederick William Count de Marton, to be Guidon and Major of the First Troop of Horse Guards under the Earl of Scarborough.

CHAPTER XXVII

ALTHOUGH James had withdrawn from personal participation in the Irish civil war, his Irish troops and their French allies were to continue the struggle during the remainder of 1690 and throughout the year following. The fighting was fierce and sanguinary, with little quarter given on either side, and with varying fortunes. Dublin, after the battle of the Boyne, had seen the panic-stricken wreck of James's army pass through its streets—all in disorder save the brave Irish cavalry, which included the two troops of Irish Life Guards, Berwick's and Sarsfield's, recently established to supply for the dethroned monarch the place once filled by his Life Guards in England.* Hard on the heels of the vanquished followed the victors. The Duke of Ormond,† Colonel-Captain of the Second Troop of Life Guards, had been sent forward with a thousand cavalry and the Dutch Guards to take possession of the capital, where he arrived on July 4th, followed on the 5th by the King in person. Next day, being Sunday, King William attended service at St. Patrick's Church, escorted by his Life Guards. On the 7th and 8th all the troops that could be mustered were reviewed by him, 273 of the private gentlemen of the English Life Guards, with 95 of their Horse Grenadiers, 145 of the Dutch Troop of Life Guards, and 368 men of the Royal Regiment of Horse being among the number.

* See the APPENDIX to this chapter.

† Appointed Lord Lieutenant of Somerset, January 5th, 1691.

The next serious business of the war was the investment, by a strong division under Douglas, of Athlone, due west of Dublin, the capture of which would safeguard the whole of the north, while also securing an entrance into the west—the enemy's stronghold. A counter-movement by Sarsfield compelled the raising of the siege on July 25th, and Douglas—not without difficulty—effected a junction with the King, who had meanwhile moved south to Limerick, the Duke of Ormond being detached to seize Kilkenny, and Kirke to take Waterford. Clonmel also surrendered.

A clear month had elapsed since the action on the Boyne before King William arrived at Limerick, where the Irish army was now concentrated. The King had in the interval been obliged by news of an intended invasion of England to visit Dublin, and then ordered the First Troop of Life Guards,* with two regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, to embark for England. Limerick was commanded by a French officer, with Berwick and Sarsfield as his lieutenants, the latter shortly having the good fortune to capture an English field train of six twenty-four and two eighteen pounders, with a quantity of ammunition and provisions, and some pontoon boats. This success had disproportionately great results, and put new heart into the Irish. Amongst the incidents of the siege was the capture by the English on August 20th of a new redoubt. The enemy sallied forth in great force to attempt its recapture. This was resisted by about fifty French and English horse, who were immediately

* Whether the First Troop actually left is doubtful, for they were shipped for England together with the Third Troop early in the following year:—

1691, January. Orders sent to call the First and Third Troops from Ireland, all four troops being designed for Flanders, except twenty out of each troop to guard the Queen. (*Hist. MSS., S. H. Le Fleming.*)

See also note (†) p. 248.

supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis Wyndham with a larger body of cavalry. Among these was a detachment of the Blues led by Captain Lucy. The Irish were forced back, at the expense, however, of this brave officer's life. By August 27th an excessive downpour of rain, which not only stopped siege operations, but brought frightful sickness to the besiegers, forced the King to choose between rushing the city forthwith and raising the siege. An assault under Douglas having failed with heavy loss, there was no course left but to abandon the siege, which was accordingly done on August 31st, when the English retired into winter quarters, the King returning to England, whither apparently the Fourth (Dutch) Troop of Life Guards had preceded him on August 9th.

Another incident of the war now occurred in King's County, where Birr Castle, garrisoned by a single company of a Protestant regiment, was besieged by Sarsfield with 8,000 men. General Kirke was sent at the head of a relieving force, which included the Third Troop of the Life Guards and the Blues, with four other regiments of cavalry and seven of infantry, and Sarsfield, though in command of a force numerically superior, retired.

The following particulars are recorded among the Earl of Rosse's unpublished papers :—

On Thursday 18th Sept. 1690, General Kirke and General Douglas came with both horse and foot to raise the siege, but the enemy were retired to their fort of Barragher where they had the River Shannon before them. This river was their breastwork and at their back were great numbers of the late King James's army.

When the enemy came to besiege the Castle of Birr, Col. Sarsfield made a speech to the officers and men and told them it was a place of great strength, and not worth their keeping if they had it; if they took it they could not expect to hold it long, it being in open country and the English Army round it who would certainly retake it. He added that the house cost Sir Laurence Parsons a great deal of money, and since it would do them no good it was a pity to destroy the gentleman's Castle. To this Col. Oxburgh furiously replied that Sir Laurence was a traitor, that King James had given him his estate and that he would

sacrifice the Castle to His Majesty's service. The enemy rejected Col. Sarsfield's advice to their loss both of men and ammunition and honour. . . .

At the time of the siege the garrison was wanting ball, they cut down and melted a leaden cistern in which Sir Laurence's lady used to salt her beef for hanging and it was so large it would hold the carcases of five or six beeves. . . .

After the siege of Birr was raised Maj. Gen. Kirke gave orders to Lord Lisburne to burn all the houses between Birr and Barragher Bridge, to prevent the enemy harbouring therein.

The concluding operations of the year 1690 followed the arrival, on September 21st, of Marlborough—unaccompanied by his troop of Life Guards—off Cork with a force of 5,000 men, which, reinforced by Danes and Dutch, compelled the “rebel city” to capitulate on the 28th.* After capturing Cork and Kinsale, Marlborough returned to England.

During the hostilities of 1691 none of the Life Guards were any longer in Ireland.† The Royal Regiment of Horse stayed on, however, and it may be convenient here to trace its history throughout the remaining twelve-month of the war. The Shannon constituted the frontier between the opposing parties, and King William knew that his army must either pervade and pacify the Irish side of it, or find itself forced back into Ulster. Lieutenant

* The Duke of Grafton, who accompanied Marlborough in an unofficial capacity, was mortally wounded.

† Those who had not yet gone home were fetched away from Carrickfergus in February, 1691:—“1691. February 17. The provisions for the two Troops of Guards, being 500 horses and men from Carrickfergus, were made at Whitehaven, and put on board the ships, which sailed from thence for Carrickfergus on the 9th inst.” Luttrell confirms this:—“1691. March 16. First and Third Troops of Guards landed at Highlake from Ireland.” After disembarkation, the First Troop was to march “through Whitchurch to Shrewsbury and quarter there, and their Grenadiers to Ellesmere.” The Third Troop was to proceed to Northampton and their Grenadiers to Newport Pagnell (*sic*). On April 6th both Troops were to be in London. (*Marching Orders, 1691, February 3rd.*)

General de Ginckell* was in command of the English, heavily reinforced with men and well furnished with stores, new clothing, and a fine train of artillery, while there were formed two large depots of transport and supplies. On the Irish side great preparations were made and a thorough reorganisation effected. The Duke of Tyrconnel took supreme command, with St. Ruth as his principal subordinate. Athlone—standing almost exactly in the centre of Ireland—was once more the obvious objective of the English. In February the enemy sought to protect Athlone by fortifying Ballymore, but were foiled in the attempt, being compelled to retire before an advanced party of twenty-two. This party, which included a few of the Blues and some other cavalry, pursued the enemy's horse for six miles to within half a mile of Athlone. The Blues' casualties were one trooper killed and four wounded, the Irish losing above 200.

De Ginckell, with an army ultimately 18,000 strong, opened his campaign late in May, his various divisions concentrating at Mullingar. On June 6th he began his march to Athlone, capturing Ballymore on the 8th, and arriving before Athlone on the 19th. The town stands astride of the Shannon, the Leinster side being called English-town and the Connaught side Irish-town, and a stone bridge joining the two. A bombardment was at once begun; by noon next day there was a practicable breach; by five o'clock in the afternoon orders were given to take the place by assault. Of the body of cavalry held in reserve to support the attack the Blues formed part. The assault itself was commenced by 150 grenadiers from each wing—under the command of a French lieutenant who was killed in the attack—the regiments, headed by the Ninth Foot (now the Norfolk Regiment), energetically supporting them. The Irish at once

* Created Earl of Athlone.

abandoned English-town, closely pursued by the English across the bridge.

St. Ruth, the Jacobite general, soon afterwards arrived with the main Irish army, and from his encampment within a quarter of a mile of Irish-town was able constantly to relieve the garrison.

On the 22nd the new English batteries in English-town effected a breach in the enemy's river-wall, while, at the most opportune moment, the Blues and other cavalry brought in under their escort a train of pontoons, floats, and siege material. For several days onwards a desperate struggle, marked by sensational exploits of bravery on both sides* had been in progress for possession of the bridge, when De Ginckell and his commanders, after anxious discussion, decided on the audacious stroke of storming Irish-town by crossing the river. Fortunately for the success of the plan, a ford was discovered at which the river was only thigh-deep.

The enemy, misled by the continued failure of the attack by way of the bridge into supposing that the siege would shortly be raised, was taken unawares when the storming parted, supported by its guns, crossed the river partly by the ford and partly by a pontoon bridge. With a rush they entered the breach, and secured the Irish end of the much-disputed stone bridge, across which, in the course

* On the Jacobite side, a sergeant and ten men, being all Scotsmen, volunteered to don armour and to wreck the English works on the bridge. They boldly set about their task, but every man of them was slain. Their places were taken by ten of their comrades, who in face of a heavy fire destroyed the enemy's temporary bridge over a broken arch, though only two of them returned alive. An equal pluck was shown on the Williamite side. Three Danish soldiers under sentence of death volunteered, for the offer of a pardon, to test the depth of the ford. Clad in armour they performed their task at three different points in the river, their friends pretending to fire at them as deserters, and thus deceiving the enemy till the time came to turn back. All three returned in safety, though two were slightly wounded.

of a few minutes, British troops were streaming unopposed. By half-past six the whole town was theirs, St. Ruth's reinforcements arriving in time only to find themselves excluded, as well as subjected to a heavy fire from their own captured guns. Such a success, under such circumstances, seems without a parallel. St. Ruth found it prudent to retreat to Aughrim, where he determined to make a stand, in order to give time for some expected reinforcements to arrive from France.

At Aughrim St. Ruth took up an excellent position on a considerable hill ; his left, at the foot of one slope, resting on Aughrim castle and village, his right on another village, Kilcommonon, at the foot of a corresponding slope. The English Army, at the beginning of the fight, occupied the lower and less regularly formed hill of Urrachree. Between these two parallel ridges ran a small river, having a margin of bog on either side. On the English right and Irish left lay an extensive red bog, intersected, however, by the Ballinasloe road running at right angles with the stream to Aughrim village and castle, where it crossed the stream.

At 6 a.m. on Sunday, July 12th, 1691, the English left Ballinasloe, where they had halted after leaving Athlone, arriving in face of the enemy shortly before noon. De Ginckell's army of 19,000 slightly outnumbered that of St. Ruth, who, however, had improved his naturally strong position by levelling the numerous fences on Aughrim hill, so as to form a continuous shelter for his infantry, taking care also that gaps of communication should be left to enable his cavalry to operate.

The English commander decided that the real attack should be made on the right, or Aughrim side, the road

being suited to cavalry, for whom the bog in the centre of the position was impassable. The attacks on the left and centre were to be vigorous diversions.

The battle began about 3 p.m. on the left, where the road over the narrow stream to the Irish right was at first weakly held by the enemy. A hot cavalry fight at this point resulted in the whole of the Irish right wing being engaged; reinforcements were brought up by both sides, till the English horse, aided by infantry, forced the enemy back on to Aughrim hill.

The second phase of the battle began at about 4.30 p.m. with the advance of the English infantry from its left across the intervening bog to attack the opposite hill. Despite the stout resistance of the enemy, the English drove them across successive fences and ditches, and at 6.30 the right of the Irish infantry had so far given way as to admit of the centre attack being made. The general character of the struggle here was a successful advance of the English up the hill, to find themselves suddenly confronted with masses of Irish cavalry, which, charging irresistibly, at length swept them off the hill and back on to the bog below.

Meanwhile, however, the English infantry on the right had become engaged. Five regiments, crossing the bog, advanced without a shot being fired against them, until they were within twenty yards of the outermost fence of the enemy's position. Then they were suddenly met with a murderous fire, which thinned their ranks, though they still pushed resolutely on. The scene just enacted on their left was reproduced here. After beating the Irish infantry from fence to fence, the English were then confronted with the enemy's cavalry and compelled to retire.

De Ginckell, it would seem, thought his situation so grave as to justify what was certainly a risky delivery of

cavalry. The English left had effected nothing ; the centre had suffered a check as well as heavy losses. On the right the infantry were still struggling to keep a hold on the enemy's hillside. De Ginckell therefore ordered the cavalry of his right wing to support them, and the English horse advanced by the Ballinasloe road towards the Irish left flank. The only possible place at which they could cross the stream was wide enough only for two abreast,* and even this was fraught with difficulty, for the boggy sides of the stream were slippery, and the crossing had to be done under heavy fire at close range. The first to cross were the Blues. St. Ruth saw them beginning to scramble over, and asked some near him what they could mean by it. Being answered that the Blues were certainly determined to cross over, to attack the left of his position, he exclaimed with an oath that they were brave fellows, and that it was a great pity they should be thus exposed to certain death. Sir Francis Compton having led his men across, formed them up on the firmer ground, and then, together with four other regiments of Horse, the Blues charged the enemy effectively, though not without loss. The infantry fight in the centre was still progressing ; fresh heart was put into the English by the cavalry support. There was a renewed attack on the Irish position along the whole line, the English cavalry of the left division now putting in some good work. Unfortunately for the Irish, their leader was at this juncture shot dead. Worst of all, their ammunition gave out.

* Macaulay describes them as proceeding in single file, to St. Ruth's amusement. Story relates the incident and its sequel :— “ Our Horse, with much difficulty made good that pass. Sir Frances Compton, with my Lord of Oxford's Regiment, being one of the first that could be in a posture to engage, he fell at random in amongst the enemy, & charged them briskly with sword in hand & though his men were once or twice repulsed, they soon made good their party on that side though not without the loss of several, both men & horses.”

Leaderless, pressed anew by both infantry and cavalry, while themselves unable to shoot, they at length gave way and retreated from the field, only to be pursued with great slaughter till nightfall.

The Reverend Mr. Story, whose account of the battle is that of an eye-witness, gives the highest praise to all the British troops, saying that they "marched boldly up to their old ground again from whence they had been lately beat; which is only natural to Englishmen: for it is observable that they are commonly fiercer and bolder after being repulsed than before; and what blunts the courage of all other nations commonly whets theirs, I mean the killing of their fellow-soldiers before their faces."

The official return of killed and wounded at Aughrim credits the Blues with one captain, two lieutenants, one cornet, and forty-five troopers killed, and twenty-one troopers wounded—the most severe cavalry regimental loss but one—that of Ruvigny's Huguenots.

General de Ginckell declared that the chief honour of the day must be paid to the conduct and bravery of the Marquis de Ruvigny and of the Oxford and French regiments of Horse.

The capitulation of Galway, and the second siege of Limerick, which surrendered on October 3rd, brought the civil war in Ireland to a close. No record exists of any further doings of the Royal Regiment of Horse while in Ireland. It returned to England in 1692, disembarking at Highlake on March 18th, and proceeding at once to London, where its headquarters were fixed for some time to come.

APPENDIX

KING JAMES was attended in Ireland by two Troops of Life Guards:—

FIRST TROOP. Duke of Berwick, Colonel and Captain; Major-General Sutherland, 1st Lt.-Col.; Christopher Nugent, 2nd Lt.-Col.; Lord Trimliston, Lt. and Ensign; Mathew Cook, Robert Preston, Maurice Dillon, Brian Caroll, and George Riders, Corporals (Francis De la Rue succeeded Lord Trimliston).

SECOND TROOP. Earl of Lucan, Colonel and Captain; Ch. O'Brien, N. Cusack, John Gaydon, Robert Arthur; Lieutenants (?) Edw. Broghall, — Plunket, — O'Brien, and Geo. White, Corporals.

All officers 1st troop (except Duke of Berwick) had commn. Jan. 3, 1692; 2nd troop. Jan. 4, 1692. (Commn. to Earl of Lucan to be Capt. of Irish Troop of Guards in England.) (From the *Stuart Papers*.)

Among the incidental notices of the Irish Life Guards a few may be cited:—

1691, December 14. St. Germains. James II. to the Duke of Berwick. Commission to be Captain and Colonel of the First Troop of Guards in the Kingdom of England.

1692, January 14. St. Germains. James II. to the Duke of Berwick:—

“ You are to repair to such quarters in Brittany as our Horse Guards shall be in for the time, and out of such as were formerly of our first troop of Guards, and out of all other troops as you shall think fit for service, you shall form our First Troop of Guards under y^r command. The troopers so formed shall enter immediately into pay and such money as is due to them of what is already owing you shall take up and keep in your hands for the use of the respective troops, as you shall find most convenient for them in buying them necessaries. The officers are to

be paid as the troopers, and the surplus of the pay to be taken up and kept until the officers have their commissions given to them ; after that they are to be accounted with. You are to put in those officers mentioned to you to be entertained as the ordinary troopers, till they shall have their commissions. You shall, in the Earl of Lucan's absence, take care that none be put into our troop of Guards but such as are qualified for that our service, and that there may be one to take immediate care of the said troop, you are to intimate to Lord Kilmallock* that we have nominated him to be First Lieutenant of that our other troop of Guards.

" Our Guards being formed, you shall intimate our pleasure to Gen. Sheldon and Lord Galway to form their Regiments of Horse out of the rest of the remaining horse."

1691. Lord Dover is said to have commanded a Troop of Guards for King James in Ireland.

1693, May 20. Christ. Fitzgerald to be Brigadier of the Irish Troop of Guards.

Edw. Broghall to be aide Major of the Irish Troop of Guards.

1694. Father Dillon to be Chaplain to 2nd. Troop of Guards, of wh. Lord Clancarty is capt.

1695. John Counter to be Brigadier of 1st Troop of Guards, delivered to Sir G. Berkeley.

Mr. Skrine (*Fontenoy*, pp. 30, 31) writes of " the famous Irish Brigade " :—

" The oldest of its six regiments bore the name of Colonel de Ruth, subsequently taken prisoner at Culloden. It was originally James the Second's body-guard, and followed him into exile."

* *Vide Cokayne, Complete Peerage, sub Kingsale.* His father, sir J. Sarsfield of Kilmallock, co. Limerick, was cr. by Charles I., May, 1625 (forfeited 1691), lord Sarsfield of Kilmallock, and visct. Kingsale. His viscountcy of Kingsale was successfully protested against in 1627 by baron Kingsale.

CHAPTER XXVIII

WHILE the Irish campaign was being brought to a successful conclusion by his generals, William in person was prosecuting what proved to be a Seven Years' War in Flanders, on that well-trodden field of many fights which has aptly been termed the cockpit of Europe.

The English King took command of the confederate army against France in June, 1691, being closely attended on the march by the Third and Fourth Troops* of the Life Guards and a detachment of Horse Grenadiers—the whole under the command of the Duke of Ormond as senior Life Guards officer.†

Opposed to the allies was Marshal Luxemburg, whose principal subordinate, Boufflers, was entrusted with the command of a mobile column. In the campaign of 1691 the French posted one corps towards the north (or left) of their frontier on the river Lys, and another on the extreme right on the Moselle to keep the Prussians in check. While William was awaiting the concentration of the Allies at Brussels, Boufflers suddenly pounced upon Mons, which he captured, thus breaking the Flemish line of frontier fortresses. William at once sought to recover so important a town. His commissariat arrangements were generally as defective as his opponent's were

* 1691, June 9th. Order for quartering the First Troop in and round Charing Cross.

† At Gerpines camp, on July 27th, the confederate army being drawn up in four lines, the right wing of the first line was composed of these two troops, with the Horse Grenadiers, under Ormond's command.

constantly excellent, and as he approached Mons there occurred a fatal delay of three days in his operations, by which he forfeited what had otherwise been a good chance of success. His immediate aim was to get behind Luxemburg and cut him off from his base at Mons. The latter, perceiving his danger, seized the opportunity presented by the enemy's inactivity to make one of the most remarkable forced marches on record, his army performing the astounding feat of cutting its way through fifteen miles of dense forest, intersected by deep ravines and considerable streams.

This manœuvre was decisive, and the King saw that he had no alternative but to retreat on Brussels, which operation being effected, he himself returned to England, taking Ormond and Marlborough with him.*

Early in September the Allies, now dwindled to a mere corps of observation through the departure home of several divisions, had been handed over by the King to the amateurish command of the Prince of Waldeck, who took up a position at Leuse, near the frontier, half-way between Tournay on the Scheldt and Ath on the Dender, and close to a tributary stream of the latter. Waldeck having neglected every precaution, the sudden appearance of the French took him by surprise. A prompt attack by the enemy's cavalry,† dismounted to act as infantry, drove

* "October 19, 1691. Last night King William came to town from Margate. All his guards, who went to bring him home, were disappointed, thinking he would come by Harwich; he was forced to send to the country gentlemen to guard him home on his journey.

"A gentleman's coachman turned over the coach wherein was himself, Lord Churchill, Lord Portland, and either Mons. Overkirk or the Duke of Ormond. No great damage was done, only Lord Churchill complained of having his neck broken; the King told him there was little danger of that by his speaking." (*Dom. S.P.*)

According to Burnet, Overkirk remained in Flanders.

† Of the 28 French squadrons present 12 were of the *Maison de Roy.* (*D'Auvergne.*)

back the first line of the Allies, after a long and stubborn resistance. The latter received no support either of horse or foot, their bravery being neutralised by the phenomenal incompetence of their commander. Eventually the main body of the Allied infantry succeeded in getting over the stream, though with heavy loss.

The only English troops engaged were the Life Guards, who bore the brunt of the fighting and had the chief share in beating off the enemy during the rear-guard action. One private gentleman of the Life Guards managed to cut his way through the enemy and nearly succeeded in shooting Marshal Luxemburg before he was himself killed, or according to one account made prisoner.*

In March, 1692, the King returned to Holland, having persuaded his English Parliament to grant money for an army of 66,000 men. Of the 40,000 destined for Flanders, more than half—that is to say, 23,000—were British troops. The Life Guards now numbered 600 men, forming four detachments under the Duke of Ormond's command.†

Marlborough, having meanwhile come under suspicion of high treason and been dismissed from all his offices,‡ the King was thus deprived of the one soldier of real genius whom he had in his service. To this was superadded the grave blunder of appointing Count Solmes at the head of the English contingent, a general whose chief title to distinction is that he hated the Englishmen under his command as heartily as they execrated him.

* See APPENDIX A for other accounts of the fight at Leuse.

† The Scots Troop of Life Guards was in attendance on Queen Mary. See APPENDIX B.

‡ Marlborough was succeeded in the command of the 3rd Tp. of Life Guards by Richard, viscount Colchester, appointed Jan. 23, 1692, who had been lieutenant and lt. col. in the 4th (English) tp. on its formation under lord Dover, '86. On joining the prince of Orange ld. Colchester was appointed col. of the 4th regt. of horse (3rd D. G.) '88, succeeded as earl of Rivers '94, commanded expedition to Spain, 1706; col. of the Blues '12, and died same year.

The French still held Mons. By May, having his artillery ready on the Scheldt and Meuse, and a corps posted on the Moselle to hold the Prussians in check, the Duke of Luxemburg, with an army of 115,000 men, invested Namur in co-operation with Boufflers. The town was surrendered before William, starting from Brussels, could reach it. Luxemburg now threatening a counter-move on Brussels, about 37 miles north-west of Namur, the two armies moved in parallel lines westwards to the river Senne, on which Brussels is situated.

The Allies being at Hal,* ten miles above Brussels, the French halted at a point ten miles still higher up the river.

Luxemburg took up his position on a slight elevation on the left bank at Steenkirk, with his right resting on the river. Along his front lay a ravine terminating in a wood close to the river. The hill opposite to him was studded with woods, and the country in rear of it much broken by ravines.

Luxemburg had thought to rest his army at Steenkirk, and to be free from attack. William, on the other hand, who had a wholesome dread of the French cavalry, saw in the broken ground so unfavourable to their movements a good field for an attack by his own infantry. As it happened, the King discovered in his camp a French spy, whom he forced to write a letter to his master stating that on the morrow, August 3rd, 1692, large bodies of the Allied troops would be on the move, but only for a foraging expedition. Luxemburg, relying on the man's assurance, was little concerned by his scouts' information next morning of the movement of a strong hostile force. When at last, about 11 a.m., the French Marshal's own eyes assured him that an attack was imminent, if not actually

* King William had his quarters at the Castle of Lembeck, where his Life Guards also encamped.

begun, his marvellously rapid disposition of his scattered and unready troops was a striking instance of his military genius.

Meanwhile the English advance immediately developed on the enemy's right. Out of the wood fronting his right wing came the English infantry, whose first onset was opposed by only two French battalions with a battery of six guns. These being driven back and their guns captured, some dismounted French cavalry rushed to the rescue by the river bank. Then the English batteries opened fire from the other side of the ravine.

At this juncture a grave blunder was committed on the part of the Allies. The artillery duel, started in accordance with the accepted rules of the tactical game, lasted for an hour and a half, by which delay the King's army lost all the advantage which the surprise-attack had conferred on it.

Not only so ; for while the whole of the French troops were being brought up to the scene of action, disposed in their proper places, and employed in artificially strengthening their position, all support was for a long time inexcusably withheld from the English troops engaged in the attack. At last the Life Guards, with some other horse and dragoons, were sent forward on the extreme right, while six battalions of foot were brought up from the far-off rear.* The English eagerly pressed forward. By this time, however, the French front had been vastly strengthened, especially towards their right—where their infantry had at first been beaten back and their guns captured and turned against themselves—by the bringing-up of the Household Cavalry or *Maison de Roy*, and three

* "When the army was come up to the head of these defiles and just entering into their small places, they were halted, except the English Life Guards, and Horse and Dragoons, which were pushed forward to the right side of the wood, where were Cutts, Angus, Mackay, and Graham's regiments." (*D'Auvergne.*)

other regiments. Very sharp fighting took place along the ravine and the English lost heavily. Still they stuck to their work and were really making good their attack. The first line of the French actually gave way, while most of the regiments of their second line seemed too staggered to advance. Thirteen English battalions had now stood up to fifty-three battalions of foot and seven regiments of horse, for Boufflers had arrived during the battle.

Victory was in fact all but in the grasp of the English ; it must have been secured but for Solmes's currish refusal to send forward reinforcements. He had still with him some English infantry, kept back, however, by the stupid arrangement of placing them in the rear of the cavalry. These burst through the cavalry in some disorder to go to the succour of their countrymen. On the King's peremptory demand for reinforcements, Solmes at last ordered forward only some cavalry, which he must have known could not act on the broken ground. He then did his best to hinder the infantry from joining the fighting-line, ordering them to halt and growling, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will afford us." It is said that he finally refused to send a single man, exclaiming, "Damn the English ! Since they are so fond of fighting, let them have a bellyful ! "

Some of the Allied troops, however, seem to have gone to the front in spite of him. It was time, for the attacking force, after all its successes, was in a critical position. Luxemburg's magnificent French and Swiss Guards charged down the slope and by sheer weight of numbers thrust back the English line. In this charge the Duke of Berwick took part, having Sarsfield at his side, who was honourably mentioned in Luxemburg's despatch after the battle. The English infantry were still fighting hard, and were only slowly forced to retire. The Life Guards and

the rest of the cavalry right wing held their ground well, though the hedges and enclosures had hampered their activity. The English front line now began to be reinforced, when it was too late. As it was, the retreat was splendidly covered by some of the cavalry, especially by the Fourth Dragoons and by the Horse Grenadiers, the latter dismounting and charged on foot, and their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmondeley, being wounded; two foot-regiments also helped to rescue their comrades.* When the King beheld the remnant of his English regiments, he burst into tears. Other troops now came forward to protect the retirement of the rest of the army, which was effected in perfect order.

Solmes deservedly incurred the fury of the soldiers, the indignation of the King, the formal censure of the House of Commons,† and the execration of posterity.

The Allied troops actually engaged were 15,000, of whom 8,000 were English. Yet they lost 3,000 killed, 3,000 wounded, and 1,300 prisoners—nearly all badly wounded. The Life Guards' losses amongst the officers were Brigadier Sooles, killed; and Colonel Staples, Captain Peavey, Captain Bennefield, and Captain Jordan, wounded. The French suffered 7,000 casualties.

* Harris (*Life of King William*, p. 367) states that the Life Guards were saved by the Danish Foot Guards.

† In a debate in the House of Commons in November, 1692, on a resolution deprecating the employment of foreign officers to command English troops, Lord Colchester spoke as follows:—

“I find the business of Steenkirk sticks with some gentlemen, the chief occasion of the ill success there was the wrong information given to the King of the ground we were to pass, which was so full of hedges and woods that we could not draw up one body to sustain another. I saw the attack made by all nations, the French were beaten from hedge to hedge, but their very weight bore us down. Auverquerque came up and behaved as well as any man in the world. He sent us two Danish Regiments and we retreated to the main body and thence to the main camp. What Lord Castleton has said must be by hearsay. He was not there himself.”

There was no more fighting in 1692. Detachments of the Life Guards were despatched from the camp to guard the road to the King's palace. On September 26th the Elector of Bavaria took command of the Allies, and on the 15th of the following month the English King sailed for home.

APPENDIX A

THE fight at Leuse is thus described in a letter from Mr. John Pulteney to Sir W. Dolt, dated Loo, September 14th, 1691:—

Yesterday the King received an express from Prince Waldeck giving an account that on Tuesday last, about nine in the morning, as our army was passing the river in their march between Leuse and Cambron, the right being got over, the French taking the advantage of a great mist (which hindered our passing over by three hours so soon as we should have done) fell in with ten thousand horse, of which was the *Maison du Roi*, upon our rear guards, and killed between four and five hundred men, but were, notwithstanding that, so well received by our men that the French were at last forced to retire.

With the foregoing may be compared a French account—that of Lieut.-Gen. the Marquis de Feuquières:—

Towards the close of the Campaign, the Prince of Orange was encamped at Leuse, and M. de Luxembourg had drawn up the King's Army under Tournay, where he waited for the Dismissal of the Enemy's Army, that he might distribute the Troops he commanded, into Winter Quarters.

The Distance between Tournay and Leuse was considerable enough to make the Prince of Orange believe his Army could have nothing to fear, in their Decampment, from M. de Luxembourg; this Prince therefore thought it sufficient to post a considerable Body of Horse at the Head of the Camp, he was preparing to evacuate; till his Army had passed the Brook of Catoire, which was behind the Camp; and he neglected to place proper Parties of Foot at the Bridges over the Brook, to receive and support the Rear Guard of his Horse, in case they should be pushed.

M. de Luxembourg, whose Design was to attack the Enemy in their Decampment, was attentive to improve this Motion, in case it should not be conducted with Prudence and Precaution; and having received Intelligence that the Enemy intended to decamp the next day, he imagined it practicable to attack the Prince of Orange's Rear Guard, should he neglect to post a Body of Foot at the Brook. This General,

therefore, marched from Tournay in the Night, with a Party of Horse, and arrived early in the Morning at Leuse, entirely unobserved by the Enemy; because the General Officer, who commanded the Prince of Orange's Rear Guard, had not dispatched any of his Men beyond Leuse, to observe if any Troops were advancing towards him: So that M. de Luxembourg, who was always indefatigable in the Execution of his Designs, marched with the utmost Expedition, and coming up with the Horse of the Rearguard who, by a strange Negligence, were not so much as drawn up in Array, but extended themselves in a kind of Column towards the Bridge over which they were to pass; he charged them so abruptly, that they had not time to form themselves into a Line: In a Word, he intirely defeated them, and drove the whole Body to the very Edge of the Brook, where their Disorder was irretrievable, because, as I before observed, no Care had been taken to place a Party of Foot to receive the Horse at the Brook.

Here the Encounter ended, because the Columns of Foot who were still near the Brook, returned thither, though without any other Effect, than having an Opportunity of beholding the Disorder of their Rear Guard.

(Feuquières, *Memoirs*, Eng. tr. 1737, ii. 63-5.)

This writer, usually so trustworthy, has blundered in supposing that King William was with his army at Leuse. The King had already left for England, after handing the command to the Prince of Waldeck. De Feuquières's mistake on this point renders it all the easier to believe that, in his not very coherent description of the rear-guard action at Leuse, he suffers his patriotism to get the better of his accuracy.

The cavalry who successfully covered the crossing of the river by the infantry were the English Life Guards—commanded, according to Burnet, by Overkirk—who apparently gave a very good account of the enemy, causing him to retire in some confusion.

Lastly, there is the limping and minimising version of the affair sent, under date of September 9th, from Cambron by the Prince of Waldeck to the King, stating that fog and other accidents had prevented his troops starting so early as they had intended, and that when at last they began their march, they had not gone far

when they were attacked in rear by some squadrons of the enemy. He adds on September 17th :—

It appears that, had it not been for the loss of the generals and other persons of rank in the French army, and those attached to the *Maison de Roy*, the Duke of Luxembourg would have followed my army and pushed further the advantage he had gained.

APPENDIX B

QUEEN MARY, during King William's absence abroad, attended to military equipments :—

MARIE R. 5 Sep. 1691. Warrant to issue “ 20 carbines, 8 pair of pistols for the First Troop and 8 strapt fuzils for the Granadiers of the said Troop in lieu of those lost or broken in Ireland.”

MARIE R. 6 Sep. 1691. Warrant to issue “ 20 carbines to the Third Troop and 8 long carbines strapt ” to its Granadiers.

MARIE RE.

Whereas our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin James, Earl of Drumlanrig hath represented to us that the arms, tents and for our Troop of Scotch Guards under his command bespoke in Holland will not be in readiness till Michaelmas next, and he praying in the mean time the said troop may be armed out of our magazines, Our Will and Pleasure is therefor that out of the stores remaining in the Office of our Ordinances you cause 118 Straph Carbines with buckets,* 118 pairs of Pistols, and 50 Horsemen tents furnished with . . .

the tenth day of May 1692, in the fourth year of our reign.

Official corruption set a bad example, too readily followed by underlings :—

1692, December 10. “ Run away on 7th inst. from the Horse Guards at Whitehall a Boy about 17 yrs of age, thick & short, full faced, blew Eyes, short brown hair, shorn close a top with a bag of money of £44. in a Money Bag wrapt up in a corn sack. £5 reward

* The buckets were for resting the fusil.

for money & proportionate sum for part of it. Edward Benton, Corn Chandler at the said Horse Gds."

1697, December 23, *London Gazette*. "Anthony Wright, middle-sized, fair complexion, aged about 20, in a light coloured cloth coat & Waistcoat & breeches of the same, wearing a fair periwig, formerly a servant to my Lord Sandwich, deserted from his colours being a trumpet in the King's Troop commanded by Capt. Cornwall in the E. of Oxfords Regt. on Wed. 15th inst. from his quarters in Oxford, and took with him a silver Trumpet. Whoever secures him & gives notice at Mr. Woolassons at the H. Gds. or at his quarters now in Windsor shall have Two Guineas & reasonable charges; or if he returns to his Quarters & submits himself he shall be kindly received."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE campaign of 1693, the fourth year of the war, was to prove not less memorable than its predecessor. If it added fresh lustre to the Duke of Luxemburg's fame as a commander, it no less enhanced King William's personal reputation for dauntless bravery and unsparing devotion to military duty.

The French aimed at diverting the war from the Scheldt on the west, and confining it to the Meuse on the east. The beginning of May saw Boufflers threatening the frontier fortresses with 48,000 men, whilst Luxemburg was operating against the Allies at the head of a force numbering 70,000. The strength of King William's army was a little over 60,000, of which 23,000 were cavalry and 38,000 infantry. Its British contingent this year was larger than ever before, numbering 3,300 cavalry—inclusive of three troops of Life Guards*—and 13,800 infantry, or a total of 17,100.

The King, having taken up an exceedingly strong position at Park, close to Louvain, was lured away from it by Luxemburg, who moved eastwards to threaten the two great Meuse fortresses of Huy and Liège. William was too late to rescue Huy, while, though his army was already numerically far inferior to that of the French, he judged it needful to strengthen the

* 1693. On January 29th the King gave orders for a draft from Lord Oxford's regiment to recruit the Life Guards in Flanders.

1693, August 15th. A draught was made out of the Earl of Oxford's regt. yesterday for Flanders.

garrisons of Maastricht and Liège with 8,000 of his troops, besides having previously sent the Duke of Würtemberg with 8,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry to operate on the Scheldt.

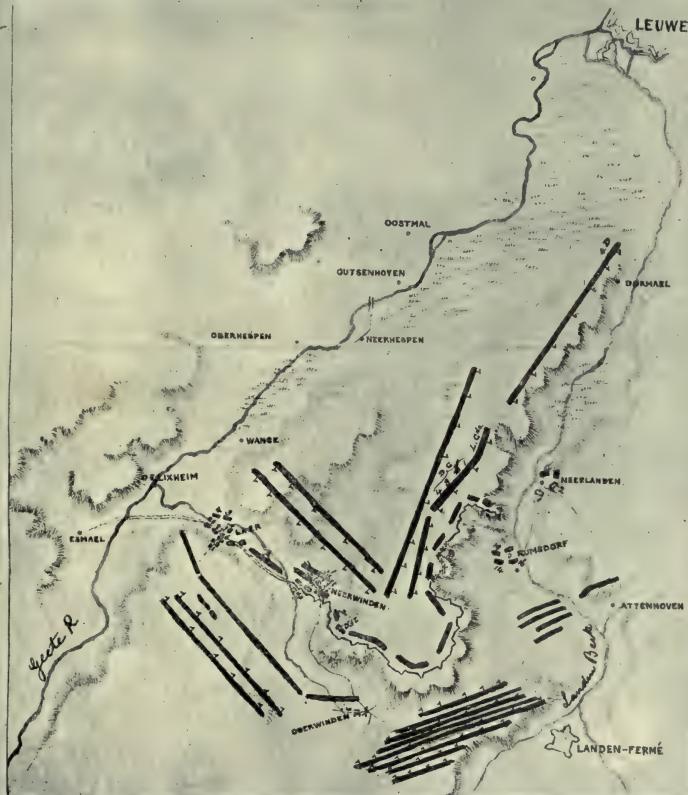
Although the Duke met with great success, his movement missed its chief object, which had been to draw off a part of Luxemburg's forces westwards from the Meuse ; and William was soon to have good cause to regret this serious sapping of his strength. The French Commander saw his opportunity, and resolved to bring matters at once to a crisis.

The English King had chosen for his encampment a triangle pointing north, of which the western side was the Little Geete river, and the eastern a stream flowing into it at the apex of the triangle, and called the Landen Beck. The base of the triangle, four miles in length and facing south, presented a very long front to be effectively guarded by only 50,000 men ; while the rear of the position was not capacious enough for cavalry movements. On the extreme left was the village of Neerlanden just across the Beck ; next to it, on the hither side of the stream, but in an advanced position, was the village of Rumsdorp. On the far right a little tributary of the Geete marked the base of the triangle for some distance. Just across this stream, a mile eastwards from the Geete, was the village of Laer, while east of this again was Neerwinden. The centre, between Neerwinden on the right and Rumsdorp on the left, was a plateau about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, devoid of any natural defence. The key of the position was Neerwinden.

By one of those forced marches for which he was famous Luxemburg on July 28th arrived opposite William's army with his full complement of 80,000 men. During the whole of the following night William had 1,500 men hard at work entrenching the exposed centre of the Allied

THE NETHERLANDS, CAMPAIGN OF 1693, BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN, JULY 19 29
I.

BRITISH TROOPS - - - RED
ALLIED " (OTHER) - BROWN
FRENCH " - - - GREEN



BATTLE OF LANDEN (NEERWINDEN).

From Colonel Clifford Walton's illustrated volume of "The British Standing Army."

position. The two villages on the right were also strengthened.

D'Auvergne has recorded that King William slept in his coach for three or four hours that night, sending for his chaplain early in the morning to pray with him.

The favourable opinion which past experience had led the King to form of his British troops was strikingly shown by his now entrusting them with all the most responsible positions. On the right Laer was strongly held by seven British regiments of foot—Ramsay's Scots brigade with the Fourth and the Buffs. Between Laer and Neerwinden were placed six German battalions ; Neerwinden itself was held by a mixed force of Germans, Dutch and British—the latter being a battalion each of the Grenadier Guards and Scots Guards. The entrenched line along the centre front was occupied at its west end by two more battalions of Grenadier Guards and Scots Guards, a battalion of the Royal Scots, and the regiments of the Coldstream Guards and Royal Fusiliers ; the rest of the centre, as far as Rumsdorp, being lined by other Allied regiments, with 100 guns in front of them. On the left at Rumsdorp were four more British regiments, while on the extreme left, at Neerlanden, were stationed the Queen's Regiment and another battalion of the Royal Scots with two regiments of Danes.

In the contracted space to the rear of the infantry line were posted nearly the whole of the Allied cavalry, the left wing of which consisted of the Life Guards, with four regiments of Dragoon Guards. The Troops of the Life Guards present were the First, the Third, and the Fourth—together with their Horse Grenadiers.

Luxemburg's disposition of his army can be described in a few words. The French left, consisting of 18,000 infantry—2,000 more being in reserve—with 8,000 cavalry, was ordered to carry out the principal attack on the

Neerwinden-Laer position. The centre, in front of which were opposed 70 guns to those of the Allies, was ranged in eight lines, of which the second and fourth were horse and the rest foot. The attack on the right at Rumsdorp and Neerlanden was to be made by 17,500 infantry.

On July 29th at sunrise William's artillery began to play on the massed infantry and cavalry of the enemy's centre, which stood for hours exposed to this galling fire. At about eight o'clock the French left moved to the attack; while a smaller force was advancing against Laer, three columns were launched against Neerwinden, the centre one being led by the Duke of Berwick. With him was the gallant Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, who here received his death-wound.* They were soon engaged in hand-to-hand fighting, but were stoutly resisted, and made no real progress until heavily reinforced; at Laer also the attack had a temporary success. In both villages, however, the defenders rallying and the King placing himself at their head, the assailants were driven out with very heavy loss, although they had outnumbered their opponents by three to one.

As the great French tidal wave receded, it left the Duke of Berwick stranded within the English lines. The aide-de-camp by whom he was attended was recognised by Brigadier George Churchill riding by, and D'Auvergne says that "although he did not see Berwick's face, he guessed at his Person, and made them both prisoners." William spoke a few courteous words to his distinguished prisoner, to which Berwick replied with a low bow. The cousins never met again.

* He died a day or two later at Huy. The following entry is dated 1694:—"Warrant for payment to the Earl of Scarborough, 1st Troop of Guards, of a sum lent by him to Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, who is outlawed for high treason, out of the forfeited estate of the said Sarsfield now in the hands of the Crown."

The French had not experienced any better luck on their right. At both Neerlanden and Rumsdorp the British were greatly outnumbered—at the latter point by more than four to one. But, although at first too heavily handicapped to repel their assailants, they were able, when reinforced, at least substantially to hold their own. On this side also, as on the other, the presence of the King at the head of his troops had an inspiriting effect.

Luxemburg ordered a second advance to be made on the Neerwinden-Laer position with a reinforcement of 7,000 fresh troops. The defenders, though thinned in numbers and greatly exhausted, took advantage of the slightly advanced position of Neerwinden village to attack the assailants in flank. The British Foot Guards at this point were also equipped with superior firearms. The French, coming to close quarters, were once more beaten back in confusion.

The supreme moment had arrived for the exercise of Luxemburg's genius for generalship. He knew that the King had concentrated all the troops he could spare on the right of the Allied line, and he inferred that on the Allied left there was not a man too many, and that from the entrenched centre none could be withdrawn. The French commander, on the other hand, with double the number of infantry that were at the disposal of his opponent, had the means of organising a new attack on the Neerwinden-Laer post with entirely fresh troops, while still holding the rest of the Allied line in check and preventing the reinforcement of their right. In addition he determined to force, if possible, a way through for his cavalry, to enable them to operate on the enemy's rear.

During the last six hours the now weary and weakened defenders of Neerwinden and Laer had been victorious, but at a cost of 4,000 men out of their original total of 14,000. Their feelings may be imagined when they saw

that their defeated assailants were being reinforced by the regiments, 12,000 strong, hitherto kept inactive amongst the French cavalry in the centre, and that these included the flower of the French Army.

King William, who by this time was back again amongst his soldiers on the right, sent for nine regiments from the left. These had no sooner started on their way, than the enemy instantly pierced the line at the point thus weakened, and succeeded in checking their further advance.

Then the renewed attack on Neerwinden began, led by the *Gardes françaises*. The resistance of the Scots Guards, Grenadier Guards, and Dutch, was as brave as ever, but their ammunition eventually gave out, and Neerwinden was carried at last.

Next, headed by the *Gardes suisses*, an assault was directed against the neighbouring end of the central entrenchment, held by the Coldstream Guards and Royal Fusiliers. Attacked by an overwhelming mass of infantry in front, harassed by a flank fire from Neerwinden on their right, these brave regiments nevertheless repulsed the enemy. At last the *Maison de Roy*, the magnificent Household Cavalry of Louis Quatorze, tried to ride them down, but the Bavarian cavalry by a brilliant charge cleared out the intruders.

The *Gardes françaises* were now brought round from Neerwinden to help the *Gardes suisses*; yet still the Coldstream Guards and Royal Fusiliers fought the five brigades opposed to them, their King twice leading them to the charge, and twice driving the enemy back. Once more the *Maison de Roy* came on, this time securing a footing; but even then the Coldstream remained undaunted, one of their privates even capturing the standard of the First (Luxemburg's Own) Troop of the French Life Guards. One-third of the Fusiliers' officers were killed or wounded, and a like proportion of the

privates. But still both regiments fought on till the whole line held by the Allies had to be abandoned. The last position to be given up was Laer, which Ramsay's Scots Brigade, with the Fourth and the Buffs, held manfully till the enemy's cavalry surrounded them, when they proceeded to cut their way through their assailants.

A fierce and hard-fought cavalry action now ensued. The *Maison de Roy* rolled up the Hanoverian Horse, and the whole right wing of the Allied cavalry was overborne by a charge of the French squadrons. In particular, the Duc de Montmorency (Luxemburg's son) had charged the Dutch Horse and thrown it into confusion. Yet even at the eleventh hour the active, resourceful, and indomitable King saved his defeated army from the worse fate that would otherwise have befallen it. He rode off in haste to bring up his English cavalry of the left wing—the Life Guards, the First, Third, Fourth, and Sixth Dragoon Guards, and Galway's Horse. These had, throughout the day, been condemned to remain passive spectators of the fight. Their time was now come, by a brilliant if belated intervention, not indeed to transform defeat into victory, but to save their comrades from destruction and to cover themselves with undying glory.

The Duke of Ormond, too impatient to wait for the Life Guards,* rode at the head of the First Dragoon Guards—the only regiment that was able to form line before charging—with excellent effect, though Ormond himself, having his horse shot under him, was taken prisoner.† The other regiments, unable to form a proper

* Ormond was the senior Life Guards officer present, and presumably in charge of the heavy cavalry brigade, as he had been in 1691. His own Troop, the Second, did not arrive in Flanders till 1694.

† “ His horse was shot under him and a villain was endeavouring to stab him when a gentleman of the French guards perceiving his air of virtue & quality rode up and stopt the bloody villains hand and asked his name & quality w^h he gave to the Duc d'Elbœuf, who was at the

line, or to give a breather to their horses, which had been brought up at full gallop, nevertheless charged again and again, with splendid success, Galway's—led by the King in person*—losing very heavily.

Fraught with the greatest dramatic interest was this first meeting, on any field, between the French Life Guards and the English. That the English Life Guards, with the Fourth and Sixth Dragoon Guards, utterly defeated the finest cavalry of France is a fact established by the candid testimony of Saint Simon himself:—

Leur cavalerie y fit d'abord plier des troupes d'élite jusqu'alors invincibles. Les gardes du Prince d'Orange, ceux de M. de Vaudemont, et deux régimens Anglais en eurent l'honneur.

The cavalry action gave time for a comparatively orderly retreat by some at least of the Allied infantry. The King, like the faithful captain of a foundering ship, was among the last to leave the scene of the wreck. William was, indeed, likely to have been taken prisoner, but for a lieutenant in the Third Troop of the Life Guards, the Honourable Hatton Compton, who with a few men rescued the person of his Sovereign and was then and there promoted to a colonelcy.

The Allies' loss in casualties and prisoners was 12,000—inclusive of 135 British officers; that of the French probably 8,000. Solmes was among the killed. Though King William had to yield to overwhelming odds at Landen, its name will ever be associated with the heroic pluck and splendid prowess of his British soldiers.

head of the Cavalry there. The Duke of Ormond was treated with the greatest civility, the best sugar to [heal?] his wound, & he was sent by the Duc d'Elboeuf's coach to the Quarter." (*Letter.*) Tindal says that Ormond received several wounds, and d'Auvergne that he was taken to Namur, and treated very kindly by the Comte de Guiscard.

* 1693, July 27th. Peregrine Bertie to the Earl of Lindsey:—" His Majesty is hurt, having led on several squadrons without his armour. Lord Ormond is missing. Lord Colchester was not in the battle."

APPENDIX

D'AUVERGNE's narrative of the campaign of 1693 is dedicated to the Duke of Ormond by Philip Falle, in a panegyric which says "our author has been very careful to right those gallant men of our own nation to whom foreign Princes have not given the full commendations they deserve. Among those gallant men your Grace holds an eminent Rank in this History. Those honourable wounds which you took in the great action at Landen where you headed our foremost squadron and with admirable courage fought among the thickest of the Enemy are noble proofs of the share you had in the dangers of that day." A similar dedication of another instalment of this narrative by D'Auvergne himself is cited in the APPENDIX to CHAPTER XXX.

CHAPTER XXX

LUXEMBURG did not follow up a victory of which it was said at Paris that it gave reason to chant *De Profundis* rather than *Te Deum*. The French commander had no reserves, whilst the Allies had close at hand and in Luxemburg's rear the large garrisons of Maastricht, Charleroi, and Liège—the latter alone numbering 20,000 men—while Würtemberg's corps of 20,000 men was not far off.

Ormond, having been exchanged for Berwick, arrived in Brussels on August 16th. He had been courteously received by his captors and well treated at Namur. Though himself severely wounded, and for two days in danger, he begged the English officers, his fellow-prisoners, to take care of their men, the relief of whose necessities he undertook to defray at his own cost.

On August 21st, William, while encamped at Lennick-St. Quentin, about a dozen miles south-west of Brussels, made a personal reconnaissance with a detachment of Life Guards and another of Eppinger's Dragoons. Passing through a wood, they fell in with a party of French horse, and a skirmish ensued, in which seventeen of the French were taken prisoners. In September the King repaired to Loo, the Life Guards, after escorting him thither, going into winter quarters at Breda. The capture of Charleroi closed the campaign of 1693 in favour of France.

The English Parliament consented to increase the army to 83,000. Hitherto the French had preponderated by virtue of generalship *plus* numbers; in the military operations

of 1694 the scale was to be in some degree turned by money-bags. While the dearth of forage and corn was severely felt by the Allies, for the French it meant an almost total inability to stir from their frontier or to abandon defensive tactics. William, moreover, was this year first in the field. By June 3rd he was encamped at Meldert, close to Louvain, on ground nearly adjoining his last year's camp at Park. In his army was included for the first time the whole strength of the Life Guards,* except the Scots Troop, together with the Blues.

Brigaded under L'Étang were the First Troop (the Earl of Scarbrough's), the Second Troop (the Duke of Ormond's),† the Third Troop (Viscount Colchester's),† the Fourth Troop (Overkirk's), and the Troop of Horse Grenadiers (Colonel George Cholmondeley's), consisting of all the Grenadiers hitherto attached to the three Troops and officially constituted as a separate unit on October 4th

* "Whitehall, April 14th, 1694. The Second Troop of Guards commanded by his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and the Regt of Horse Guards Commanded by the Rt Honourable Earl of Portland, with a great number of recruit horses, are shipt in the river, and will sail this day together with the train of Artillery for Flanders."—(*London Gazette.*)

The Second Troop sustained, for the time, the loss of its Pay Fund, through the regimental agent's dishonesty:—

1694, April. "The Agent to the Duke of Ormonde's Troop—one Mr. Cowper—hath gone aside and hath carried with him 2,000[£] belonging to the Troop."

† "In 1694 Sir Richard Steele enlisted as a private in the Duke of Ormond's Troop of Life Guards. This is what he said about it:— 'When he mounted a war-horse, with a great sword in his hand, and planted himself behind King William III. against Lewis XIV. he lost the succession to a very good estate in the County of Wexford in Ireland, from the same humour, which he has pursued ever since, of preferring the state of his mind to that of his fortune. When he cocked his hat, put on a broad sword, jack-boots and shoulder-belt, under the command of the unfortunate Duke of Ormond, he was not acquainted with his own parts.' "—(G. A. Aitken's *Life of Sir Richard Steele.*)

‡ Viscount Colchester this year became Earl of Rivers.

of the previous year)*—in all, 800 officers and men—besides the Dutch regiment of Horse Guards. This year the strength of the French army numbered only 84,500, it being now their turn to find garrisons for the big frontier fortresses, while the Allies were correspondingly freed from this necessity. The most memorable feature of the campaign was another, and that the greatest, of Luxemburg's celebrated forced marches.

The French Marshal, while on the Meuse, had probably hoped to prevent the Allies from moving westwards to the coast by threatening Liège. That fortress being, however, well able to take care of itself, William started to reach the Scheldt. Luxemburg at once determined to bar his passage of that river at all hazards. In this great race from the Meuse to the Scheldt the two armies moved in mainly parallel lines. William's route was, however, much shorter than Luxemburg's, who had to make something of a *détour*, to advance through an almost impassable country, and to cross rivers on five occasions. In the space of five days and a half the French covered one hundred and twenty miles, as compared with the Allies' eighty. When the latter reached the Scheldt, it was to find the French army drawn up on the opposite bank, ready to dispute their further progress. But for this, William must almost certainly have captured several strongholds between the Scheldt and the sea, and even Dunkirk itself, where there was a British fleet ready to co-operate with him.

On September 28th, the frontier fortress of Huy—on the Meuse between Namur and Liège—fell once more into

* The commissions for the newly constituted troop of Horse Grenadiers were signed at the Hague, October 4th, 1693. The Major was Henry Ireton, only son of the famous rebel and regicide general, and grandson of Oliver Cromwell.

1694. Commⁿ for Mr. Paget to be Chaplain to Col. Cholmondeley's Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards.

the hands of the Allies. In the following month both armies betook themselves to winter quarters,* the Dutch Troop of Life Guards going to the Hague; the three English Troops, with the Dutch regiment of Horse Guards, to Breda, and the Troop of Horse Grenadiers to Bois-le-Duc.

Queen Mary died on December 28th, 1694.† The funeral was deferred till March 5th, 1695.

The war during the year 1695 was to see a change of fortune, which till now had markedly favoured the French. First and foremost they suffered the irreparable loss of Marshal the Duke of Luxemburg, who died in January and was succeeded by Marshal Villeroi. Next, the lack of money hampered them this year even more than the last. Further experience had taught the Allies the wisdom of fighting early, fighting promptly, and fighting in force. It is true that the French, after the capture of Mons in 1691, and of Namur in 1692, and consequently of Charleroi—which lay between them—in 1693, had secured and strengthened the whole line of frontier between the Meuse and the sea. But they were now to find that, even more emphatically than last year, this long line could not be held except by tactics of an almost exclusively defensive character.

The total strength of the Allied forces in April was

* Some of the wives were permitted to join their husbands:—1694, November. Warrant for Mrs. Warneck, a Life Guard's wife, to go to Harwich or Gravesend for Holland or Flanders.

† “1695, January 24. H.M., attended by his Guards, and having Lords Portland and Scarborough in the Coach, went to the house of Mr. Tatt in Richmond Park for three days, to give opportunity to put Kensington House in mourning.” William appears to have gone shooting at Richmond while the preparations were in progress for the Queen's lying in state.

1695, January 29th. “Before His Maj. left Richmond he diverted himself with shooting flying on horseback making 7 shottts all successful.” (*Luttrell.*)

124,000 men. Parallel with the sea coast, and at an average distance from it of thirty miles, runs the Lys, a tributary of the Scheldt, which it joins at Ghent. At Deynse, on its left bank, was the English King with his main Army, composed of 11,000 horse and 42,000 foot; his seconds-in-command being Würtemberg and the Prince de Vaudemont. The British contingent included the three troops of English Life Guards* and the troops of Horse Grenadiers, brigaded again under L'Étang.† The three regiments of Foot Guards—Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots—were, like the Household Cavalry, brigaded by themselves for the first time.

On the King's left, nearly thirty miles to the eastward, and about ten miles north-west of Brussels, was encamped at Asch another large force under the Elector of Bavaria, consisting of 15,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. The contingent of British troops in these two armies numbered 29,100. Three more corps belonging to the Allies were (1) thirty miles away on William's right, Ellenberg's of 13,000 men encamped on the frontier at Dixmuyde, ten miles from the sea; (2) 16,000 Brandenburgers at the other end of the frontier, near Liège; and (3) Count Tilly with 4,000 Liégeois close by.

The French army was composed of three corps. Villeroi himself was at Menin, where the frontier is intersected by the Lys; to his right was Boufflers, between

* 1695, January 28th. His Maj. has given orders for a draught to be made out of the Earl of Oxford's regt. to recruit his Guards in Flanders. (*Luttrell.*)

† 1695, May 7th. "Duke of Ormond to be Lieut. General of all the forces in Flanders. Lord Scarborough to be Lieut. General of all the forces in England."

On June 5th Ormond came into camp with his troop. He had escorted the King from Breda to Ghent, and then "cantoned" upon the country to graze the horses:—"June 11th. The 4th Troop and Horse Grenadiers came into camp. On the 14th Lord Rivers came in."

the Lys and the Scheldt ; and to his left, thirty miles off near Furnes and the sea, was De Montal.

The whole French army was thus massed on the extreme left of its line, towards the sea, with the exception of a flying column commanded by Harcourt, posted near Liège, on the far-off right.

William now determined to seek a new solution of the frontier question, and to take the bull by the horns by going straight for Namur, the strongest fortress of the whole series, if not the strongest in the world. He detached a small force under Würtemberg to co-operate with Ellenberg on the right, and sent the Elector from the left to face Villeroi and Boufflers in the Lys-Scheldt country. At dawn on June 19th, having made these dispositions, the King himself—with only an escort of the Second and Fourth Troops of the Life Guards and the Horse Grenadier Guards, and followed by his Dutch Blue Horse Guards and a regiment of Dragoons—hastened at full speed towards the Meuse end of the frontier, whither also he instructed the Elector and Würtemberg* to join him before Namur, Vaudemont staying behind to watch the French. A feint on Charleroi misled Harcourt. But Boufflers, sent hurriedly eastwards to ascertain the situation, presently reached Namur, which he entered with seven cavalry regiments on the same day, June 22nd, on which William arrived in the camp of the Allies.

The situation of Namur is one of great natural strength. The great Dutch engineer, Cohorn, fortified the place, and his French rival, De Vauban, perfected a work which had been deemed perfect before. On a narrow tongue of land pointing northwards and formed by the junction of the Sambre on the left with the Meuse on the right, rises a long steep hill, which, covered with fortifications, is the

* Würtemberg shortly afterwards returned to co-operate with Vaudemont.

citadel of Namur. On the other side of the Sambre, and extending farther along the same left bank of the united rivers, is an oval-shaped piece of low ground, where stands Namur city. Beyond it are the heights of Bouge, crowned with elaborate outworks. The garrison now numbered 13,000 men, and was in all respects well provided.

On July 3rd, the various Allied forces having concentrated before Namur, the besiegers' trenches were begun under the expert direction of Cohorn himself—ambitious of "besting" his rival De Vauban. On the 6th the Bouge lines were stormed, the hardest work being assigned to the British, and the post of danger entrusted to the Brigade of Foot Guards. The assault was irresistible, the Guards marching straight on to the position, and reserving their fire for a volley at close quarters; the French were cleared out of work after work, and driven from one position to another, then out of and beyond the fortifications and right up to the gates of the town behind. The Royal Fusiliers and Royal Scots similarly carried all before them at another point, where the Dutch Guards had just failed. Other Dutch troops had penetrated elsewhere, and the Allies were that night masters of the heights of Bouge, though at the cost of 2,000 casualties. The Guards had 12 officers killed and 20 wounded, and the Royals 4 killed and 4 wounded.

Next day, July 7th, the attack was begun upon the town, specifically on the Porte St. Nicolas, at its northern extremity. A work called "the grand entrenchment" yielded on July 10th to a simultaneous assault at various points; but the capture of the Porte St. Nicolas was not effected till August 3rd, when, after a day's fighting which lasted till midnight, both British and Dutch effected good lodgements, while a heavy cannonade from the Meuse bank and from the captured heights of Bouge weakened the

defence. To avoid a useless sacrifice of life, the town of Namur was surrendered on the morrow, August 4th, the garrison retiring into the citadel.

A few days later William, desirous of a conference with De Vaudemont, was absent from the siege operations for three days, while with his Life Guards he visited a spot destined 130 years later to become the scene of their successors' immortal achievements :—

1695. The King, having received Advice of the Motions of the French army, marched early in the morning on August 10, with two troops of Horse Guards and the troop of Horse Grenadiers, and reached Waterloo the same evening. Having had an interview with the Prince de Vaudemont, the King returns to Namur on the 12th. (Harris, *Life of King William*, p. 413.)

Meanwhile, in the west Dixmuyde and Deynse were unaccountably surrendered to the French, to the indignation of their garrisons. On the other hand, Würtemberg and De Vaudemont successfully foiled Villeroi, who, enraged at finding himself barred from Brussels by an inundation of the country, wantonly bombarded the city for thirty-six hours. Then he started for Namur, in the hope of compelling the Allies to raise the siege. On August 28th he reached the neighbourhood of the town, but a careful examination of the whole situation convinced him of his powerlessness to prevent the fall of its citadel.

It is some satisfaction, even now, to be assured by military writers of authority that Villeroi's vindictive bombardment of Brussels was followed by its just Nemesis. Had he not lingered before Brussels, he might, they tell us, have prevented De Vaudemont's junction with the King, and have been spared the chagrin of finding that the covering army had now become too strong to permit any attempt being made for the relief of Namur.

On August 30th, at midday, a general assault was made on the fortress. Again it was to the English that the

most difficult and dangerous task was assigned. The combined Grenadiers of the several regiments, led by Lord Cutts, who had been appointed to the command of the Coldstream Guards in 1694, advanced over an intervening space of more than half a mile, exposed to a raking fire in front and flank. They mounted the breach, they even penetrated within the ramparts—only to find themselves face to face with a newly-constructed inner entrenchment. Unable to advance, they began to retire, when they were fiercely charged by the French; the order was then given to retreat. At this moment Cutts, who had been severely wounded in the head, perceived that the Bavarians in a neighbouring position were on the point of being beaten back, and at his call 200 English volunteered for a forlorn hope, and succeeded in surmounting the palisades and in capturing the guns, which they then turned upon the flying enemy. Fired by this example, four English regiments followed in support and planted their colours on the ramparts. Other lodgements had meanwhile been effected, and at five o'clock the fighting was over, with the Allies well within the French works. King William was specially gratified by the conduct of his British regiments, and conferred on the Eighteenth the title of the Royal Regiment of Ireland. The casualties of the British were: officers, 29 killed and 55 wounded; men, 475 killed and 790 wounded.*

On September 5th, the hoped-for succour from Villeroi never having arrived, the garrison, originally 13,000 strong, marched out with the honours of war, but with sadly reduced numbers—they were fewer than 5,000!

By way of reprisal for the French Government's treatment of the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse—who had

* "Colonel Eck of the Dutch Troop had his arm shot off in the trench when standing by the side of the King and Mr. Godfrey; the latter was killed by the same ball."

been detained, it was said, in violation of the terms of capitulation, Marshal Boufflers was arrested by Brigadier l'Étang, who was attended in the performance of this duty by twelve private gentlemen of the Life Guards. In reply to Bouffler's surprised and indignant protest his custodian could only plead that, as a soldier, he had to execute his orders. The Marshal three days later was escorted to Maastricht by the Dutch Troop of the Life Guards, being treated with the greatest consideration, and attended by a guard of honour. His honourable captivity lasted no longer than the time necessary for him to exchange communications with his Sovereign, who instantly ordered the release of the prisoners taken at Dixmuyde and Deynse, and thus procured the Marshal's liberation. The Dutch Life Guards provided a relay of escorts to attend King William to his palace at Loo, where—as was his wont—he found some well-earned relaxation in hunting. September 21st saw the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers bestowed in their winter quarters precisely as in the previous year.

APPENDIX

AUVERGNE dedicates his narrative of the campaign of 1695 to the Duke of Ormond, and says that the King kept him by his side at the siege of Namur to give him all the advantages of instruction and experience as his successor-designate in the chief command of the army. But although Ormond's reputation as a soldier was well established by his work in Flanders, his personal character was lacking in resolution and consistency. One writer says of him :—

“ The Duke of Ormonde had the reputation of a very brave officer, though never that of a very able one.

“ He was a man of easy temper and of ordinary understanding, so diffident of himself that he often followed the advice of those who had a smaller share of sense than himself; he was as irresolute in affairs as he was brave in person, and was apt to lose good opportunities by waiting to remove difficulties which naturally attend great designs and of which a part must always be left to fortune.”

Another biographer observes :—

“ He was more addicted to pleasure than business, and fond of splendour. Power was of no other use to him than as it raised his glory, and was the means to lavish favours upon his friends and flatterers. His abilities were confined, but he was so entirely amiable that the want of them was not observed. He seemed made for the drawing-room; for though not tall he was well formed, and possessed a fair complexion and features very beautifully regular.” (Noble, *Biog. Hist. Eng.*, ii. 34.)

For Falle's panegyric of Ormond see the APPENDIX to CHAPTER XXIX., p. 277. The particulars of his subsequent career are given in CHAPTER XXXIV., p. 330, note.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE fall of Namur was an event of the highest military and political significance. It was the first real check to that victorious progress of the *Grand Monarque* which, had it been extended only a little farther, would have constituted him the arbiter of Europe. The loss of Namur had a sobering and salutary effect, and led the French to thoughts of an honourable peace with an enemy against whom they had till now fancied themselves irresistible.

In England the satisfaction was great, and Parliament, proud of the prowess of its soldiers, willingly voted an army of 87,000 men for a renewal of the operations in 1696.* But, although in May William, attended by his Life Guards, appeared at the head of the allied army, there was no real fighting. On May 29th the King inspected his Horse Grenadiers;† on June 2nd, with them and his Life Guards, he arrived at Wavre for a week's stay. French overtures for peace reached the Hague during the summer, and at the beginning of August the Life Guards escorted the King as far as Breda, the Dutch Troop alone guarding

* The nation was in so amiable a temper after the successes of 1695 that William determined to utilise this happy mood by dissolving Parliament and holding what in modern phraseology has been known as a Khaki Election. He showed himself freely about the country, and in the middle of October, with an escort of the Blues, went down to that most fashionable resort, Newmarket, where, as Macaulay says—picturesquely rather than accurately—in the gay throng might be seen “officers of the Life Guards, all plumes and gold lace.”

† 1696, January. Cholmondeley receives a draft to recruit his Troop of Horse Grenadiers.

the remainder of the royal journey. In September all repaired to the winter quarters they had occupied the two preceding seasons.

For the campaign of 1697 both sides were already taking the field in April. The English Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers were brigaded under Cholmondeley. This year the Allied forces were greatly outnumbered by the French. The Allies, having strengthened their line from Ostend through Bruges and Brussels to Namur, could not spare troops to cover Ath, on the Dender, thirty miles south-west of the capital, and it fell on May 28th. The English King had a week earlier taken up his position at Genappe, about sixteen miles southward of Brussels. The brigade of Life Guards, with the English Foot Guards and the Royals, marched at break of day on the 21st to encamp at the King's quarters on the left of Braine-le-Château. The French generals, after capturing Ath, had planned an immediate advance on Brussels, which they hoped to reach before William by way of Anderlecht, one of its western suburbs. The King, however, having news of this move, with extraordinary promptitude withdrew his army by a night march from Genappe, and occupied the camp at Anderlecht next morning, just in time for the French to find him comfortably ensconced there before them. The saving of Brussels was really the end of the Seven Years' War, peace being signed at Ryswick on September 11th, 1697—a peace which was to last for four years.

It is not too much to say that the Seven Years' War was the making of the Life Guards, and firmly established their reputation as a fighting force of the first rank. To undergo the hardships of a series of severe campaigns in the field, to be fighting side by side with allies of tried valour and efficiency, to find themselves able to do more than hold their own against the finest and foremost troops in

Europe—in short, to be initiated in the art and practice of real war on a great scale—was to acquire an experience of which it would be difficult to over-estimate the value.

The instant that peace was well in sight the King quitted his camp before Brussels on August 3rd, to spend his usual autumn holiday at Loo, the road thither having previously been placed under the protection of the Dutch Life Guards. As soon as was practicable the troops of English Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers were sent home. Even before their arrival it was announced that “the four troops of Guards are to be new cloathed, viz., Scarborough, Ormond, Rivers, and Overkirk” (*Luttrell*, September). Then there began to appear in the papers pleasant anticipations of the long-looked-for home-coming of London’s popular heroes, who had been abroad for so many years: “October 2.—Next week the three troops of Guards are expected home.” The happy event did not, after all, occur “next week”;* not till October 23rd do we meet with the news item that “the three troops landed are sent to quarter at Chelmsford, Hartford, and Ware”—a disappointing arrangement for the “sweethearts and wives,” though its possible necessity appears to have been not unforeseen by the authorities, for Mr. George Clark (Secretary-at-War in the absence of Mr. Blathwayt) writes to the Commissioner of Musters:—

Horse Guards, 9 Oct., 1697. Sir,—The King having ordered the three troops of horse, one troop of [Horse] Gren. Guards and 4 Battⁿ of foot Guards to come over from Flanders and be quartered in and about London in the usual quarters of the Guards, I desire you will

* The *Post Boy*, October 2nd, 1697, says, “The Providore is ordered to make arrangements for transporting hither 1,000 Horse from the Netherlands, which number consists of 3 Troops of Guards.”

acquaint the benches of justices with it, that they may order a review to be made of the quarters as soon as possible. You will press to have this done as soon as possible to avoid the confusion that may otherwise happen if the troops should come over before the matter is settled.

One troop of [Horse] Grenadier Guards

3 serjeants 6 corporals

4 drummers 4 hautboys

180—197 troopers, besides officers. (*W. O. Records.*)

On November 16th the King arrived at Greenwich and was met and congratulated on his safe return. His state entry into his capital took place the same day. The Earl of Scarbrough was the Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, and in the triumphal procession figured the Horse Grenadiers, the English Life Guards, and "some of the Earl of Oxford's Horse." On the 18th "the Earl of Scarborough's troop came upon duty at Whitehall in the place of Lord Oxford's Regiment." Three days later the oath of allegiance was tendered to all the Guards. Their daily round of peace duties had recommenced.* The Scots Troop, their services being no longer needed in London, returned home to Edinburgh.

Even the peace rejoicings had their casualties:—"December 2. At the firework display in St. James's square a Man and Woman were killed and others injured by falling sticks." The public enthusiasm was unbounded, and in a loyal address of the borough of King's Lynn there occurs a rhetorical reference to the preservation of King William by "the Life Guards of Heaven."

It would appear from the letter of the Acting Secretary-at-War already cited that the Dutch Troop was still in Flanders. A newspaper of November 11th says, "We hear that the Troop of Guards have been embarked at Williamstadt twice, and been compelled to debark, owing

* 1697, November 18th. "The Life Guards have returned home from Flanders, and have taken up again their peace duties at the Horse Guards." (*Post Boy.*)

to contrary winds" (*Post Boy*). The Troop seems, after all, to have remained in the Netherlands to receive King William on his visit next year: "1698. July. 'Tis said Lord Overkirk's troop of Dutch Guards waited for H.M. landing in Holland" (*Luttrell*). Under date of August 10th it is added:—"Yesterday Lord Overkirk's Troop of Dutch Guards, well mounted and clothed like the English, arrived in England. The rest to come with the King." The Dutch Troop, on its arrival, took its turn of duty with its English comrades.

The King on his return from Holland in the autumn of 1698 was received by the Life Guards, who in October had been ordered "to go towards Margate and Harwich" to await His Majesty. On November 12th detachments of them passed through London "to lye on the road, to convey H.M. to Kensington." Soon after, on November 27th, "the three Troops of Guards of the English and Lord Overkirk's Troop of Dutch Guards mustered in Hyde Park for the King."

The establishment of what is now known as the Household Cavalry was thus constituted in 1698:—

	<i>Officers</i>	<i>N.C.O.'s</i>	<i>Privates</i>
Three Troops of Horse Guards	48	15	600
One Troop of Dutch Horse Guards	15	5	200
One Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards	11	20	180
Lord Oxford's Regiment (nine troops)	40	45	531

Peace had no sooner been proclaimed than the old protests of thirty years ago began again to be raised in Parliament against a Standing Army, and it was declared that three troops of horse and one regiment of foot were quite sufficient to protect the King's person.

William, not less strenuously than his uncles who had preceded him on the Throne, insisted on the necessity of a Standing Army. On December 11th, 1697, the Commons passed a resolution to pay off and disband all the forces raised since September 29th, 1680—a reduction of the Army to about 9,000 men.

On January 8th, 1698, the House refused to rescind its resolution, but on the 14th consented to provide for 10,000 men.*

In July there was a Dissolution, the new Parliament meeting on December 12th. Again the King asked for a powerful Fleet and Army. But the Commons, now more than ever hostile to a Standing Army, reduced the Army vote, providing for only 7,000 men in England and 12,000 in Ireland—all of them "to be natural born subjects of his Majesty."

In January, 1699, the hostility of public opinion to a large Army and to the continued presence in England of the King's Dutch soldiers found expression in an Act of Parliament, which involved the dismissal of the Dutch troops. In March the Earl of Albemarle (who had lately succeeded Lord Scarbrough in the command of the First Troop of Life Guards), the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Rivers mustered their troops of Guards, and ordered all foreigners not naturalised to be discharged; † "since

* 1698, August. "The Earl of Oxford's Regt paid off; 'tis said another reform of 25 men more will be made out of each troop of guards, which will reduce them to 150 each troop, including the Dutch troop coming from Holland." (*Luttrell*.)

† The extent to which the Life Guards were recruited from naturalised foreigners is indicated by a Naturalization Act of 1698-9 (MSS. *House of Lords*, iii., N.S. 1396) relating to a number of "private gentlemen belonging to his Majesty's three troops of Guards and Grenadiers." The House in March required an account of how long these persons had served in those troops. A number of them produced certificates of their having received the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England. Most of the names are French. A list is given

which," adds the record, "Lord Overkirk's troop of Guards, etc., have embarked for Holland."

There might seem something ungenerous in this treatment of a King who had learnt, and showed that he had learnt, to appreciate the merits of the British soldier, and it is easy to understand that William would feel keenly mortified at the deliberate refusal of Parliament to grant what he had asked for as a personal favour to himself—the retention of his Troop of Dutch Guards along with the English Life Guards. And yet, if this English attitude towards the Dutch seems needlessly irritating to William, it is reasonable to ask whether there were nothing irritating in the Dutch Prince's treatment of his English subjects.

Allusion has already been made to the King's familiar friendship from the outset for the Dutch generals, in contrast to the royal snubbing administered to the English, especially in the early years of his reign. That sort of grievance is one that rankles. The British nobility, in particular, and over and above the general antipathy existing between the two nationalities, had special cause to dislike the King's Dutch friends. An English peer was constantly finding himself thwarted in his ambitions by the preference shown to his imported rivals. Russell, after his distinguished services at sea, did not care for his earldom, having no son to inherit it. What he did covet was the Garter, but that had already been bestowed on Portland. Nor were similar grievances lessened by the fact that some of the favourites were not specially worthy of the distinctions accorded them.*

The patience even of the courtly Ormond at last broke of nearly forty "Aliens riding in his Majesty's First Troop of Guards" for periods ranging between seventeen years and one year, and of nearly forty others in each of the other two troops.

* Sometimes the rival favourites "fell out." Luttrell records that in November, 1698, "Lord Albemarle has a quarrel with the King, who has preferred Portland's nominee as Secretary for Dutch affairs."

down, when William, smarting under the loss of his Dutch Guards, and wishing to load his new favourite, Arnold Joost Van Keppel, Earl of Albemarle,* with every possible honour, induced the Earl of Scarbrough to resign the First Troop, the command of which carried seniority, and appointed the Dutchman to the post over the heads of Ormond and Rivers. The Duke promptly resigned his command of the Second Troop—a step which seems to have been very generally held justified and approved by public opinion. Indeed, the matter was raised into a question of national importance, and an outcry was heard that the English were being made subservient to the Dutch. Fifty members of Parliament waited upon Ormond and expressed their desire, not only to air his grievance in the House of Commons, but also to introduce a drastic Bill by which all foreigners should be excluded from any sort of public office.† The King at once recognised that he had made a false move; yet, so absolutely was he under the influence of Albemarle, that he pleaded his inability to withdraw the offer he had made to him.‡ A rather clumsy compromise was finally effected, under which Albemarle was to command the First Troop, but to rank in

* “Arnold Joost V. Keppel, Earle of Albemarle. It is difficult to find so fortunate and so justly fortunate, a person as Lord Albemarle. Beautiful in his person, gay, lively, free and open in conversation, very expensive in his mode of living, he gained the affection of William, a prince of the most opposite character; the King never suffered him long from his person, being his constant companion in all his diversions and pleasures, who entrusted him with affairs of the utmost moment, and gave him his confidence to the last, as well as perpetuated the esteem he had for him by making him the only exception in devising any of his estates from his heir-at-law, the Prince of Nassau-Friezeland.” (Noble: *Biographical Hist. of England*, i. 63.)

† Klopp, viii. 341.

‡ To do Albemarle justice, he looked after his Troop’s interests:—“The Earl of Albemarle, Captain of the First Troop of Guards (lately under the Earl of Scarbrough) has ordered his clerk of the said Troop to make up the accounts, that the Gentlemen thereof may have all their Flanders arrears paid to them.” (Luttrell, June 10th, 1699.)



Arnold Joost 1st Earl of Allemarle. K.G.
From a portrait by Sir G. Kneller in the possession of the Earl of Allemarle.
Circa 1710.

all military operations as junior to Ormond, who there-upon withdrew his resignation.* Ormond's further hope that, of the Irish forfeitures resumed by Parliament, those in Tipperary should fall to him, was not, however, to be accomplished, although, by a very questionable arrangement, he was absolved from any debts he might be owing to persons whose property was confiscated to the Crown. The whole subject of Irish forfeitures was, during this and the following year, subjected to a fierce light which brought into relief the disagreeable fact that William had awarded large slices of confiscated estates to his Dutch friends, Portland and Albemarle, as well as to his English mistress, the Countess of Orkney.

On the arrival of the Life Guards from the war, they returned their cuirasses to store. The King decided to make considerable additions to the splendour of their uniform, the silver lace on their coats being replaced with gold lace. We read also that in August, 1699, "the Gentlemen of the three troops were ordered to wear feathers in their hatts: the first troop, red; the second, green; the third, yellow." These changes made, the King on November 9th reviewed his Guards in Hyde Park. His Majesty, who "was extreamly pleased, rid through all the Ranks on a neat Barbary Horse which was presented to him by the Dey of Algiers; then he ordered them to file off, to the end that he might take particular notice of each Gentleman and his Horse as they passed before him. . . . So that to the great satisfaction of His Majesty . . . they appeared to be the finest Body of Men, and the compleatest Cloth'd and Accoutred, in the World." Thus

* "Last night H.M. on his return from Newmarket was met by the Duke of Ormond, the difference about the command of the Guards being reconciled according to seniority of commissions; his Grace to command the Earl of Rivers and the Earl of Rivers the Earl of Albemarle." (*Luttrell.*)

an enthusiastic writer in the *Post Boy* of November 11th, 1699. The *London Post*, a few days before, commenting on their "new Cloaths" as "extraordinarily grand," adds that the Life Guards "are generally thought to be the finest Body of Horse in Europe."*

During the remainder of King William's lifetime and reign there was little or no departure from the ordinary routine of the Life Guards' duties. Both they and the Blues were still called upon at times to act against highwaymen—a function which would not be discharged in the "new cloaths."†

Early in 1702,‡ when war with France seemed in sight, two detachments of Life Guards were under orders to be ready for foreign service. But King William died on March 8th,§ and their last service to the monarch who had afforded them so many opportunities of earning military distinction was rendered when they escorted his remains to the grave.

* 1699, August 26th. "New cloaths are making for the three troops of Horse Guards, which will be very noble, each Gentleman's equipage amounting to £42, & each of the Officers' to no less than £100; but they are not to be worn before the 4th of November, the King's birthday." (*Newspaper.*)

† 1699, August 15th. "We hear the Earl of Oxfords Regiment is ordered to Quarter nearer London in order to clear the road of Robbers." (*Newspaper.*)

1699, September 9th. "We are told that four of the Duke of Ormonds Troopers are ordered to patrol every night from Islington to Hampsted and Highgate to scour the roads." (*Newspaper.*)

‡ "On February 12, fifty men out of each Troop of the Guards was ordered for Holland, with other regiments." (*Luttrell.*)

§ To Ormond, a Lifeguardsman, the King bade good-bye; then he whispered something to Portland; to another Lifeguardsman, Albermarle, who had that morning arrived from Flanders, he gave the key of his *escritoire*. When all was over, the first person to touch the remains was Scarbrough, an ex-Lifeguardsman, who, as Lord-in-Waiting, took charge of the portrait of Mary which since her death had always been worn by the King.

APPENDIX

THE contrast between these two entries is pathetic :—

1699, June. “A horse guard of 6 gentlemen to attend the Duke of Gloucester, who is to be saluted by all Guards and to receive ambassadors” (*Luttrell*). In the following year had occurred Princess Anne’s loss of her son :—

1700, August. “The Duke of Ormonde and Duke of Northumberland are chief mourners at the Duke of Gloucester’s funeral.” (*Luttrell*.)

CHAPTER XXXII

THE Royal Regiment of Horse, after its return from Ireland in 1691, and during the war in Flanders, was largely employed in the performance of duties usually pertaining to the Life Guards.* The Blues were in constant attendance upon the Queen, and had to supply the escort for the King—as, for instance, whenever he journeyed between London and Margate on his way to or from Flanders.† The Regiment usually had its headquarters at Westminster, the better to discharge its function of attending their Majesties' persons. When the King went to Portsmouth on March 5th, 1694, it provided his escort,‡ and detachments from the

* 1693. The Duke of Ormond's troop is to quarter at Warwick.

1693, June 9. The Earl of Nottingham to Mr. Clarke:—"The Queen orders that the Duke of Ormonde's troop be quartered in the town and that the Earl of Oxford's Regiment be removed to other quarters."

1693, August. The Duke of Ormonde troop to come to town to do duty at Whitehall, in room of Lord Oxford's regt. of horse who are to quarter in Northamptonshire.

1693, November. Two Troops of Lord Oxford's Regiment to relieve the Guards at Whitehall.

1695, August. Two Troops of Lord Oxford's Regiment to attend the Prince and Princess of Denmark at Windsor. (*Luttrell.*)

1696, June. A detachment of 50 men of the Blues with their officers to attend the Prince and Princess of Denmark at Windsor. (Order issued by "Cantuar, Pembroke, Devonshire, Shrewsbury.")

† 1696. The road between London and Margate was divided amongst relays of the Blues, 40 troopers forming the escort between Lambeth and Blackheath, 40 between the latter place and Dartford, and 40 for the next stage to Northfleet, whence some Dragoons supplied the escort for the remainder of the road to Margate.

‡ Their effective fulfilment of this, as of all their responsibilities, marks the high standard of discipline and efficiency constantly reached

Regiment attended his Majesty in October, 1697, when he was paying a round of visits in different parts of the country. At other times, besides continuing to discharge their old function of convoying specie, the Blues performed quasi-police duties.*

The fact remains, however, that from the Revolution onwards there existed in this Regiment a certain Jacobite leaven,† traces of which appear from time to time in its annals.‡ For example, among those charged by proclamation with conspiracy to overthrow the Government were "Colonel Slingsby, Charles Adderley, Esq., and David Lloyd, Esq.," all three of whom bore commissions in the Blues.§

by the Blues. In March, 1695, "the King reviews Lord Oxford's Regiment, and finds them very well Mounted" (*Luttrell*). In June of the same year, the Regiment, with others, was encamped on Hounslow Heath.

* 1696. Fifteen men with a cornet and corporal to assist in bringing in a prisoner from Rumsey. 1695, February. To the Earl of Oxford. Order to escort a highwayman from Newgate to Reading.

† The existence of some doubt on the subject seems evident from the following, in which the gaps are due to the document being much torn:—1693. September 7th. "Yesterday morning a squadron of the Earl of Oxford's regiment commanded by . . . Middleton marched hence to quarter at . . . Rundle and Wellingborough; and this morning a squadron of them marched under Captain Tuck and are to be quartered at Huntingdon, St. Neots, etc., and on Saturday a third Squadron will march and be quartered at Northampton . . . being suspected of having printed Mr Anderton's speech which reflects upon the Government of the nation." It is perhaps significant that, when the last Troop of Life Guards had to leave for the war, their place was supplied, not by the Blues, but by some Dragoons. 1694, February. "Cunningham's Dragoons to do duty at Whitehall, as Ormonde's Troop is preparing to attend His Maj. to Flanders."

‡ 1695, August. "Yesterday Ed. Bish, Trooper in Lord Oxford's Regiment, rode through the city with sword and pistol saying King William was dead, and he would kill any one who denied it. The mob brought him down, and he was taken to Newgate." He was fined 100 marks and condemned to stand three times in the pillory. (*Luttrell*.)

§ In 1684 Tho. Slingsby, Chas. Adderley, and Dav. Lloyd appear in

In 1696 was hatched out the twofold Jacobite plot for an insurrection* aided by a French invasion, and for the assassination of William. The former was under the immediate direction of Berwick, but soon collapsed, the English Jacobites perceiving that if they rose in arms, backed by no disciplined force, the Government, owning all the regular troops, would easily crush the rebellion before aid could come from without; and the French King, on his side, declining to risk an expedition until he could be assured that the Jacobites on the spot were ready to co-operate effectively with his force.

The assassination plot, headed by Sir George Barclay, was a scheme for murdering the King in his coach, while on his way homewards from his usual Saturday hunt in Richmond park. The place was to be a narrow lane between Turnham Green and the river. The conspirators, who numbered forty men, included, as usual, a number who were prepared to give their fellow-criminals away, not for conscience' but for lucre's sake. The Government had full information of the whole business, and the chief of the would-be assassins, with the exception of Barclay, were arrested, tried, and executed.

One of the earliest to join in the plot was a Captain Porter, formerly of Sir Thomas Slingsby's Regiment of Horse, who brought with him into the conspiracy his servant, Thomas Keyes, an ex-trumpeter of the Blues.† Several of the Roman Catholics in the Regiment had already been tampered with, and Keyes, who kept up his

the list of Commission Officers in the Regiment, as Captain, Lieutenant, and Cornet respectively. *Vide* CHAPTER XVII., APPENDIX § IV.

* The plan for a Jacobite rising was alleged to include the following: "1696, March. Sir John Friend to raise a regiment of horse, one Troop of which to consist of Non-juring parsons."

† In the *Ailesbury Memoirs* Keyes is described as Porter's trumpeter. This is not inconsistent with the view, repeatedly affirmed by Macaulay, that Keyes had formerly been trumpeter in the Blues.

acquaintance with a number of the troopers, was able to serve the ends of the conspirators to some purpose. On the morning of the day fixed for the crime it was Keyes who brought in the momentous news that the King's hunting expedition had been suddenly abandoned: "I have had a word with one of the Blues; he told me that strange things are muttered." That same afternoon, among those put under arrest were three of Lord Oxford's Regiment. Keyes himself was arrested with Porter in Surrey a few days later. Under the circumstances, it seemed hard to many that, while the master was allowed to turn King's evidence, the man whom he had influenced, and against whom he now came as a witness, had to die. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the Blues, as a body, were under so much suspicion that many had to be dismissed and several imprisoned.* The part played by Keyes was therefore a leading one; he was the connecting link between the King's enemies and the King's guards.

These events belong to the early months of 1696. Early in May the King went to the war, and did not

* 1696, March 10th. "Three of Lord Oxford's Regiment are committed to Newgate." (*Luttrell*.)

June. "A corporal of the Earl of Oxford's Regiment was committed for the conspiracy, being accused by Goodman." (*Ibid.*)

In the trial of Sir John Fenwick the sworn evidence of Cordel Goodman includes the following:—

"It was agreed, that if Parker should not bring us timely orders, we were to take orders from Sir John Fenwick; this we offered him and he kindly accepted, and then he said he believed most of my Lord Oxford's Regiment would go to King James; when I told him Mr. Paradise had promised to bring in seven or eight to me, and that Mr. Aynsworth was to bring in twenty, and Parker had said if I made it thirty, it was sufficient for me."

In the trial of Charnock and Keyes an informer says, after recounting how Keyes had given the alarm, "When I came there [to Captain Porter's], I found one Douglas, one Trevor, and four troopers of my Lord of Oxford's Regiment." (*Howell State Trials*, Vol. XIII.)

return till the autumn. But at home the anti-Jacobite crusade did not flag. Suspicion lay, and had long lain, heavily on Sir John Fenwick,* who had resigned his commission in the Life Guards at the Revolution. During many months Fenwick, for whose arrest a warrant had been issued, succeeded in concealing himself. Then it occurred to him that, as the law required two witnesses to secure the conviction of an accused person, it would be "good business" to induce either Porter or Goodman—the only witnesses hostile to him—to leave the country. Porter was offered handsome terms to go abroad, including the payment of 300 guineas down. He took the guineas with alacrity, and then betrayed the whole plan to the Government. Fenwick was indicted for high treason, and the grand jury having found a true bill, he tried to escape to France by way of Romney Marsh. As he neared the Marsh he was recognised, and an effort made to arrest him. He escaped his pursuers, but after some days' search was discovered and taken.

Brought before the Lord Justices,† Fenwick offered to make a full written confession. The paper, when produced, was found to reveal nothing against his own friends, but a very great deal that might prove exceedingly awkward for some of King William's Whig Ministers. In point of fact, there was not a pin to choose between them and the Jacobites they were persecuting, except that the latter had stuck to their man, right or wrong, while the Whig magnates had proved impartially false to both James and William—some of them several times over.

* Sir John Fenwick had already been a suspect five years earlier. Under date of 1691, April 15th, a list of suspected persons includes the names of Lord Newburgh, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and Colonel Orby.

† 1696, June. "A party of the Earl of Oxford's Regiment was ordered to bring up Sir John Fenwick, who was committed to the Tower." (*Luttrell.*)

Fenwick's "confession" naturally angered and alarmed many of the King's servants, without conciliating the King. William really had no use for this document, being perfectly aware of the true characters of the Whig nobility; while he had excellent reasons of his own for pretending to trust them. Macaulay's high-flown periods about William's magnanimity, generosity, and forgivingness are amusingly beside the mark. William was a man of the world, not always too fastidious himself about his methods; he cherished no illusions about his Ministers; he clearly understood that he could rely on their loyalty for just so long as loyalty was consistent with their personal interests; and he acted accordingly—that is to say, he made it worth their while to adhere to him as their master.

When the King came home from Holland in October, he found that Fenwick's "confession" had fallen like a bomb in the very uppermost of "upper circles," and the situation was serious enough for the accuser to be sent for to Kensington Palace for examination by His Majesty in person. Fenwick surprised his enemies by the bold front which he presented. In point of fact, he had just learnt that his wife's efforts to get rid of Goodman had proved successful, and that the informer was already safe on his way to France.*

The case against Fenwick had now broken down for lack of evidence. But the rage of the double-dyed traitors whose treachery he had exposed was not to be baffled nor their terror allayed by a trifle of that kind. He was thrice brought to the bar of the House of Commons to be alternately threatened and cajoled into making "a full and free discovery." When he pleaded, not unreasonably, that his trial might shortly be coming on,

* Goodman subsequently fell into the power of Louis Quatorze, who promptly put him into the Bastille.

and that he ought not to be pressed to say anything that might hereafter be used against him, the Speaker of the House observed *ore rotundo* that "no man ever had reason to repent of having dealt candidly with the Commons of England." The appeal fell flat. Possibly Fenwick in his youth had heard tell of the tender mercies of the murderous Roundhead "Rump" that arrogated to itself the same august title.

Finding their victim impracticable, his enemies that same night obtained leave, by 179 votes to 61, to bring in a Bill of Attainder against him. On November 9th, 1696, the Bill was read a first time by 196 votes against 104. Fenwick having again appeared at the bar, Porter was heard and some second-hand evidence produced. The House held several long sittings to debate the Bill. The Whigs were the stronger in rhetoric; the Tories in legal and constitutional pleadings. Even Jezebel, exclaimed one of the latter, did not dare to rely on a single false witness to secure the conviction of Naboth, but took care to suborn two men of Belial! More convincing was the argument from the danger of the Legislature claiming to act as the highest criminal tribunal in a political cause. Unfit as the House was in itself to try an issue depending on nice points of law and of the value of evidence, its mode of conducting the trial was even more objectionable. In those days Parliament was notoriously corrupt, and the debates on the Fenwick Bill of Attainder exhibited such an assembly at its worst. The more moderate and honest Whigs showed signs of being persuaded against their will to take Fenwick's side. The Bill passed the second reading stage by a diminished majority of 186 to 128. The third reading went through by a still smaller majority—189 to 156.

On November 26th it reached the Lords, of whom 105 out of 140 were present. The Whig bishops—contrary

to canon law not less than to right feeling—mustered in full force. Throughout the discussions the true issue was obscured by irrelevancies. The Peers were supposed to be trying Fenwick ; they were really trying each other. The various members of the supreme tribunal were chiefly concerned in defending themselves from the scathing exposure which he had made of their perjuries, their infidelities, and their treacheries. At last the judges who were trying a man for his life were fain to enter on secret negotiations with the prisoner to induce him to spare any further revelations of their turpitude !

On December 1st the Bill was read a first time without a division ; on the 8th a proposal to stop the proceedings by raising the “ previous question ” was negatived ; on the 15th the real contest began, the Lords often sitting for fifteen hours a day. Several of the great nobles, though unfriendly to Fenwick, sought to spare his life. Ormond, in particular, may have wished to treat with clemency one who had served honourably and with distinction in the Troop of Life Guards now under his command. The preposterous decision to admit the escaped villain Goodman’s testimony on hearsay was recorded by 73 votes to 53. The second reading of the Bill went through by 73 to 55. Then Fenwick was solemnly exhorted to make a full confession. He answered finally and forcibly that he “ had no security.” He knew his men, he knew the value of their word, he knew that none of their assurances to the contrary would protect him in a future trial at which any admission made now would be used against him.

The final stage of the Bill was carried by no more than 68 votes to 61, and on January 11th, 1697, the assent of the Crown was given.*

* 1697, January. “ The Guards are doubled at Kensington, with constant patrols between the Sentinels.” (*Luttrell.*)

Lady Mary Fenwick in vain implored the King to pardon her husband. The Lords obtained for him a week's respite. They were within an ace of asking for a commutation of the capital sentence. On January 28th was reached the final scene in the tragic career of this ex-Life Guards' officer—his execution on Tower Hill. The ceremonial was the same as that for a peer of the realm. Sir John arrived in the coach of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Carlisle, and was escorted by a detachment of the Blues.* He died bravely—the victim of a period of unrest and unsettlement in which the terms "treason" and "loyalty" were diversely applied to the same course of action according to the standing-point from which it was regarded.

* Lord Macaulay calls them Life Guards.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE customary ceremonial, on the occasion of Queen Anne's accession on March 8th, 1702, and of her coronation on the ensuing St. George's Day, brought the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers into their rightful propinquity to the Sovereign. The war with France broke out anew, to last for eleven years, but neither the Life Guards nor the Blues* were sent abroad to take part in it. One weighty reason for keeping picked troops at home was the continual fear of a Jacobite invasion in the interests of the Chevalier St. George, whom the Whigs affected to style "the Pretender." To the same cause is to be traced the formation of a troop of Horse Grenadier Guards attached to the Scots Troop of Life Guards.

Anne's chief title to personal remembrance is perhaps her devotion to the Church of England: "Queen Anne's Bounty" is still a household word in many an English parish and parsonage. After each one of the memorable victories won for her arms abroad by Marlborough the

* The Horse Grenadiers and the Blues were, however, held in readiness for foreign service:—

1705, 24th February. The Duke of Northumberland's regt. of Horse is ordered for Holland—so are also the Horse Grenadiers.

1711, March 12th. Mr. Feilding by the Duke of Northumberland's command writes to desire Lord — would be pleased to signify to the board of Ordnance H.M.'s pleasure to deliver for the use of the Royal Regt of Horse Guards under her command a sufficient quantity of armour out of the Tower. Makes this application by Gen. Earle's advice as well as by his Grace the D. of Northumberland for best plates and head pieces. (*Dom. S. P.*)

Queen proceeded in solemn state to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks for the Divine mercy bestowed on herself and her people. In those "spacious days" of British patriotism Englishmen were not yet ashamed to believe that the success of their country's cause is a thing to fight for and to pray for, and that a British victory in the field or on the ocean is an occasion for religious thanksgiving—not for the snivelling and sloppy sentimentalism which is habitually more than half-disposed to wish success to any enemy of England.

Queen Anne, as a sensible woman and a wise Sovereign, encouraged State pageantry and pomp. During her reign monarchy was no longer draped in the drab habiliments which had threatened to become one of its leading characteristics under the depressing influence of the Dutch connection. The Queen may not have been a highly imaginative person, but she thoroughly enjoyed her State visits to the City, where the citizens were regaled with the sight of their Sovereign seated in a gorgeous State coach of purple and gold, drawn by eight horses in rich purple-and-white harness—the whole set off by the military magnificence of a splendid escort of Life Guards. Opportunities for this stimulating display were not lacking. At one time it was a State procession to enable the Queen first to witness the Lord Mayor's Show and then to be entertained at the Guildhall. Other, and indeed the most frequent, occasions for this brilliant ceremonial were the numerous thanksgiving services at the Cathedral. Of these there is recorded a long series, beginning with that held—it might almost be said, under false pretences—on November 12th, 1702, in commemoration of the results of an expedition intended for Cadiz. It had been under the joint command of the Duke of Ormond, who took with him more than twenty of the Life Guards, and Admiral Sir George Rooke. Owing to dissensions

between the leaders, the descent on the Spanish coast was in itself a discreditable failure. On the way home, twenty-five Spanish treasure ships were captured off Vigo, an exploit which, yielding a solid million sterling, amply sufficed to save the faces of the otherwise unsuccessful commanders of the expedition.

The second and a more justifiable national thanksgiving was that held after Marlborough's victory at Blenheim on August 13th, 1704, the royal visit to St. Paul's* taking place on September 7th following.

The standards and colours captured at Blenheim from the French and Bavarians were ordered by the Queen to be put up in Westminster Hall, and thither on January 3rd, 1705, they were solemnly conveyed from the Tower in a procession headed by a troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. Following these came a detachment from each of the three Troops of the Life Guards escorting the captured standards, which were borne by thirty-four Life Guardsmen. After them marched a battalion of Foot Guards, in the midst of whom 128 pikemen carried the colours taken from the enemy.

Marshal Tallard and other French generals who had surrendered at Blenheim came to England as prisoners, being treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness by Marlborough. When Lord Feversham asked Marlborough if he might visit his old friend and acquaintance, Marshal Tallard, the Duke made reply that, "the Queen would not refuse his Lordship her leave, if he asked her." Feversham, as Boyer says, "took this for a soft denial." The same writer records that Tallard and his fellow-prisoners

* "The Queen in a coach & 8 horses, the prince on her left, the Dss. of Marlborough & Lady Fretcheville riding forwards. The horses curiously deckt with white and red ribbons made up like roses. Escorted by the Earl of Albemarle troop richly accoutred" (*Luttrell*). We have here the originals of the now customary rosettes.

were escorted to and guarded at Nottingham and Lichfield, by George, Duke of Northumberland, and his troop of the Blues, "the prisoners being allowed all freedom both in those places and ten miles about" (*Boyer*, p. 168). It was afterwards settled that Marshal Tallard was to reside at Nottingham, and the other French officers at Lichfield and Coventry, where the Blues were quartered.

The year 1706* saw another of Marlborough's great victories—that gained over the French, Spaniards, and Bavarians at Ramilie on May 23rd. The Queen once more repaired in State to a thanksgiving service† at St. Paul's, and afterwards granted the standards and colours taken from the enemy as trophies to be put up in the Guildhall, whither they were solemnly conveyed by the Guards, both Horse and Foot, on December 19th.

* One Lifeguardsman at any rate was serving in the war, namely Marlborough's trumpeter :—

March 7th, 1706. A Warrant of the Chamberlain of the Household to John Charleton Master of H.M. Jewel Office for the supply of a new silver trumpet to Mr. J. Seignier trumpeter to the 3rd troop of Guards who was appointed to attend on the Duke of Marlborough abroad this campaign. This bears an endorsement testifying to Godolphin's peddling vigilance :—"Query, what's become of the old one?" (*Cal. Treasury Papers*, p. 422.)

Of course a great many officers who served under Marlborough had, previous to their exchange, served in the Life Guards. To take one instance out of many—General C. Wood entered the Life Guards in the latter part of Charles the Second's reign. He served for four years as a private gentleman, and was then advanced to be sub-brigadier, brigadier, and exempt, and after the Revolution became captain in the present 6th Dragoon Guards; distinguished himself at the Battle of Blenheim; was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and further distinguished himself at Ramilie and Oudenarde.

† 1706, June. All the Horse and foot Guards newly cloathed went to St. James, as did the peers & peeresses in their coaches with 6 horses to attend the Queen to return thanks at St. Paul's for the great victory in Flanders [at Ramilie]. (*Luttrell*.) Anne was again at St. Paul's this year :—

1706, December 31st. The Queen attended by the 1st troop of Guards goes to St. Paul's. (*Luttrell*.)

In the course of the following year there was appointed another day of public thanksgiving—this time for the happy union of Scotland with England. On May 1st the newly altered standards of the Guards were first borne by them as they escorted the Queen to the service at St. Paul's.*

The abortive project for a Jacobite invasion of Scotland in 1708 caused the despatch northwards of the First and Second Troops of Life Guards, a Detachment of Horse Grenadier Guards, and the Regiment of Blues, together with a force of infantry which included a battalion of the Foot Guards.†

As soon as the scare had subsided, the Life Guards and the Blues returned to London in time to take part in the religious celebration on August 19th of the signal victory gained by Marlborough at Oudenarde on July 11th, 1708.

The union of England and Scotland in one kingdom warranted the withdrawal from Edinburgh of the Scots Troops of Life and Horse Grenadier Guards, which in February, 1709, came south and were quartered at Kingston-on-Thames. They were now clothed, armed, and accoutred like their English comrades. On April 15th the two Scots Troops‡ were inspected at Hampton Court, and on May 10th the whole of the English and Scots Life and Horse Grenadier Guards were reviewed in Hyde

* 1707, May 1st. The Queen attended by the 2nd troop of Guards goes to St. Paul's [to return thanks for the Union]. (*Luttrell*.)

† 1708, March 15th. The Duke of Ormond's & the Earl of Albemarle's troops & the Duke of Northumberland's Royal Regt. ordered to be ready to march at an hour's notice to Scotland. The March is begun on the 14th. (*Luttrell*.)

April. Two Troops of Blues escort Scotch prisoners from Nottingham to London. (*Luttrell*.)

‡ 1709, April. The foot and 120 of the Scotch troop of Guards, under Lord Craufurd, march thro' the city, and are reviewed in Hyde Park. The horses have not yet their accoutrements. The Duke of Argyle commands the troop (*Luttrell*). For a biographical notice of Argyle see the APPENDIX.

Park.* Henceforward the Life Guards from Edinburgh were styled the Fourth Troop,† which took its turn at regular duty, while the Scots Grenadier Guards were re-named the Second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards.‡

In 1709, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, the preacher at St. Paul's Cathedral was Dr. Sacheverell, who in his sermon upheld the doctrine of non-resistance to the Crown, attacked the Dissenters, and repudiated "toleration." The Whig ministry now in office decided to impeach him. His trial,§ which lasted for several months in 1710, was utilised by his enemies for setting forth what were termed the principles of the Revolution of 1688. The country became greatly excited, the Dissenters finding their chief support amongst the middle class, and the Church being backed by the higher and the lower. Sacheverell was condemned by the House of Lords, but his sole punishment was the burning of his sermons and his exclusion from the pulpit for three years.

Meanwhile, however, there were serious riots in London, and the Dissenting meeting-houses were sacked and burnt

* 1709, May 1st and June 28th. A noble appearance in Hide Park of 4 troops of Guards and 2 of Granadiers, new clothed, reviewed by the Duke of Ormond. (*Luttrell*.)

† The command of the [Fourth or] Scotch Life Guards was [in 1713] given to Lord Dundonald, for which the Queen was supposed to have paid the usual price, £10,000, to the Duke of Argyle. (*Boyer*, p. 679.)

‡ The Troop was commanded by the Earl of Craufurd (1704-13). At his death it was given by the Queen to the young Earl Marischal, elder brother of the still better-known Marshal Keith, on January 5th, 1714. In 1708 he had been the hero of a brawl in which "the Earl of Erroll threw a bottle at the Earl of Marischal's head, and dangerously wounded him." On the accession of George I. he was deprived of his command, and joined in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. He was eventually employed in the Prussian diplomatic service, and died in Prussia in 1778.

§ 1710, February—May. The Horse & foot guards to do duty in Old & New Palace Yards, Westminster, during Dr. Sacheverell's trial. (*Luttrell*.)

by the mob. Some of the leaders of the riot were arrested, prosecuted, and punished. Three of them, Daniel Dammaree, a watchman ; Francis Willis, a footman ; and George Purchase, a sheriff's officer—formerly in the Life Guard, from which he had been dismissed—were indicted for “high treason in levying war in the kingdom against the Queen, under pretence of pulling down meeting houses.” Howell's *State Trials* records the details :—

One of the witnesses, a Captain Orrel, said that in Lincoln Inn Fields he met a detachment of Horse Guards and told the Captain the best way was through the arch. “I run back along with them ; as soon as they came they halted at Great Queen Street. Then came a detachment of Horse Grenadiers and met them and both joined. After they had drawn themselves up in one line, the officer commanded them to ride among the mob and disperse them which they did but were very favourable, and struck them with the flats of their swords. I saw Purchase with a sword drawn with which he pushed at several of the horse, & I wondered they did not cut him to pieces. I said to him, ‘Do you know what you do in opposeing the Guards ? you are opposeing the Queen's person.’ He said, ‘damn you, are you against Sacheverell ? I am for High Church and Sacheverell, and will lose my life in the cause.’ He made a run at the officer, but one of the gentlemen of the Guards made his horse spring forward and struck at the prisoner. This was the second time, as he had made a pass at the horse Grenadiers and this was at the Life Guards. I then retired down the lane thinking there might be firing & I might be killed.”

An officer, Capt. Southerland, gave evidence :—“I drew up my men in a line at Drury Lane & gave orders to let none pass behind them and reported to the commanding officer that the prisoner had been troublesome, he said ‘make up to him & cut him to pieces,’ so I rode to him but he escaped into Long Acre.”

R. Russel a horse Grenadier said he knew the prisoner when he rode in the first troop of Guards ; that he came down Drury Lane huzzaing and flourishing his sword ; that he and another soldier struck at him, but that he still tried to get behind the horses ; that the rest of the mob were more afraid, but he swore he would come. “How did you strike him ?”—“With the flat of the sword.”

G. Richardson (3rd troop) had served with the prisoner in Flanders and said, “I was on guard that night ; some time after 10 an alarm came that the mob was up ; we were ordered immediately to mount and stayed some time that the foot might pass us at Whitehall. When we came to Lincoln Inn Fields, we left the foot, and went to Drury

Lane. There the officer commanded us to file off singly and disperse the mob which we did. I saw the prisoner talking to my officer and he made a thrust at him, but I beat down his point. I says, 'you rascal, have you a mind to kill my officer !' I went to cut at him, but he threw himself against a bulk, and I hit the penthouse with my point, and the blade broke to pieces."

Francis was found not guilty. Dammaree was sentenced to the horrible and brutal punishment then inflicted for treason ; but Purchase received the Queen's pardon :—

The Lord Chief Justice stated, as regards Dammaree, who assisted to pull down meeting-houses, that the unanimous opinion of the judges was that he had committed the species of high treason which is Waging war against the Queen ; for when a multitude is assembled and force used, not for any private end, but upon a pretence which is public, it had always been judged a levying of war against the Crown. In the case of Purchase the judges were divided, three against three ; for it was not proved that he had previous intent to pull down the meeting-houses, although technically he drew his sword in defence of the rebels ; or when the Guards came by Her Majesty's command to disperse them—*i.e.*, to put an end to this war, he actually engaged the Guards—made a pass at the Captain of the Guards, & poked at other of their horses.

This preposterous twisting of a mere street riot into an act of war against the Crown, coupled with the sophistical distinction between actually drawing a sword and "technically" drawing a sword, was an outrage on justice worthy of Jeffreys at his worst.

During the riot, soon after 10 o'clock on the night of March 1st, 1710, Sunderland hurried to the Queen ; her own body-guard was the only military force which, being always under arms, was ready for an emergency. Sunderland was reluctant to incur the responsibility of stripping the Queen of her sole protectors, but Anne declared that "God would be her protector." On the Minister's ordering Captain Horsey, in command of the guard, to "mount immediately and go and disperse the Mobb," the officer, a rough but scrupulous soldier, protested that he had no right to leave the palace, being answerable for the security

of the Sovereign's person. When at last he was persuaded to start, another difficulty occurred to him:—Was he to preach, or to fight the mob? If the first, they must send with him a better speaker than himself; his trade was fighting. He was told to exercise his own discretion and to employ only such force as was absolutely necessary.

A further military measure was judged advisable:—

As the Captain was going out, Sunderland whispered him and bid him send a party to the Bank, which the Captain did accordingly, and sent thither a Corporal with Six Horse Guards.

On the following day, March 2nd, the Horse and Foot Guards at Whitehall and St. James's were doubled.*

In the year 1713 a remarkable petition was presented to the House of Commons by a number of ex-members of the Fourth or Scots Troop of Life Guards.† If the allegations

* It would seem that the sentries were occasionally called off for duties of another kind:—

1696, May 26th. *The Post Man*:—"About 10 o'clock on Tuesday night 2 lusty rogues set upon 2 Women near the Birdcage in St. James' Park, whom they began to pillage and finding one of the Womens scarves tyed, pull'd out a knife to cut it in doing which, they cut her neck, which put her to the squeek & drew the Centinels to her rescue who took both the Sparks who were committed to the Gatehouse yesterday morning."

† An instance of the staunch loyalty of the Scots Troop is thus narrated:—

1713, April 4th. An incident of disloyalty was the cause of the following information laid by 3 gentlemen of the 4th Troop of Horse Guards, Mr. Buntine, Mr. Alex Shaw and Mr. R. Hislop. At the sign of the valiant trooper Capt Fury lattly prevo to H.M. forces in Flanders talking with a gentlewoman said the taking of Charles I head was very well done, whereupon Mr. Buntine replied that nothing but a rascal and a villain would talk so. Later Captain Fury said that King Charles acted as a villain in signing the massacre of Ireland, and that the beheading of the King was a good thing done and that he valued no more the cutting off of a King or a Queen's head than cutting off a rabbit's or a frog's head, whereupon Mr Shand said nothing but a villain would say so and bade him begone out of the Company, whereupon the said Capt^o Fury paid his reckoning and went away. (Dom. S. P.)

contained in it are true, the treatment to which they had been subjected amounted to a grievous injustice :—

Humble petition of gentlemen lately belonging to Her Maj 4th Troop of Horse Guards late commanded by the Duke of Argyle now by the Earl of Dondonauld.

To the Honble. Knights, Citizens & Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

Your petitioners have address'd Mr. Speaker for redress of the abuses & unjust stoppages made out of their subsistence by Lord John Ker, 1st Lt. Col. of the said Troop.

Lord John Ker did turn out several of your Petitioners (though they never committed any misdemeanour) for the sum of £100, which he had for each gentleman's post, & also violently took from them their clothes and accoutrements which they had paid for out of their subsistence.

Fourpence halfpenny per day has been stopt from each man in the troop for 6 years successively, which has not yet (though demanded) been accounted for.

Lord John has several times been guilty of defrauding the Government by false musters, even to 38 men in a muster. Lord John stands in contempt of the late Act of Parliament (made for officers to pay the soldiers) by not paying the petitioners, who were compelled to sign discharges at the Pay Office in Dec. 1710, not only for what was due, but for what should become due to Dec. 1711, and were threatened to be turned out of the Troop if they refused to sign such discharge.

The Petitioners pray you to take their hard treatment (and likewise how the Government has been used) into consideration and to order them (they not being able to sue Lord John at Law) such relief as their case requires.

There is, of course, abundant evidence of grave irregularities constantly occurring both as to pay and pension :—

1702. Henry Wood petitions the Queen that he lost his estate in the service of Charles I.; that he served Charles II. and James II. till he lost his sight through old age; that James ordered him dead pay, 2s. 6d. a day, in the Earl of Oxford's Regiment, which was confirmed by William; that there was six years of his pension due, besides £60 of James's pension; that he was 80 years old, absolutely destitute, blind, and lame. Minuted £20 a year.

1709. John Dawkins petitions "that he may receive his pension of half-pay granted by King William for service in the Horse Guards, of which he has received nothing."

In the records of this reign occur some other striking illustrations of different financial aspects of membership in the Life Guards. For example, in 1702 there was a talk

of Lord Albemarle selling the command of his troop for 12,000 guineas. The sale did not, however, take place till eight years later :—

1710. July. E. of Portland having purchased of the E. of Albemarle the post of Capt. of the Queen 1st troop of Guards hath kist Her Maj. hand for the same (*Luttrell*). August 4. The Duke of Ormond reviews the Life Guards and presents the Earl of Portland to the 1st troop, who subsequently "treats" all the officers. (*Luttrell*.)

Lord Portland has to sell out three years later :—

1713. July 7. Lord Ashburnham [the Duke of Ormond's son-in-law] was appointed Col. & Capt. of the 1st troop of Horse Guards in the room of the Earl of Portland, who was ordered to dispose of that Post for the sum of £10,000. (*Boyer*, p. 643.)

Major-General Davenport is ordered to sell his post of Lieutenant of the 1st troop of Life Guards to Brigadier Panton. (*Boyer*, p. 679.)

A question of Life Guards' privilege arose in 1713. The officers of the Horse Grenadiers, who quoted a precedent, claimed their right to sit on courts-martial for the trial of private gentlemen of the Life Guards. An official letter from Lord Lansdowne—then Secretary-at-War—decided the matter, the Queen basing her decision on the precedent alleged :—

4 July, 1713.

The officers of the two troops of Grenadier Guards having petitioned the Queen on acc^t of a late dispute concerning their Right to sitt at Courts Martial held on matters relating to the Horse Guards contrary to former practice, I am to acquaint you Her Majesty declares for the future the officers of the [Horse] Grenadier Guards shall have an equal right of sitting and voting at Courts Martial with the Officers of the Horse Guard.

To Mr. Byde.

With the Methuen Treaty and the Treaty of Utrecht came the twin blessings of peace and port wine to England, a troop of Life Guards assisting at the ceremonial of the peace proclamation on May 5th, 1713.

On July 31st, 1713, Queen Anne held a review in Hyde

Park of the whole of her Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards, six troops of the Blues, and seven battalions of infantry. This was the last of her greater State functions. In 1714, on July 30th, a long illness took a serious turn; for two days the Life Guards were kept under arms against the coming of the news of the demise of the Crown. The end came on August 1st, when the German Prince who, to the day of his death, could never speak a word of the English tongue, was proclaimed King over the English people.

APPENDIX

[EXTRACTED from an original MS. at the Record Office entitled " Persons Recommended to be Officers in the year 1706."]

N.B.—The letter " M " on the left hand signifies that Marlborough had initialled the recommendations in question.]

CAPT. JOHN HENLEY.

Of Brigadier Holt's Regt., served in Flanders in 1691 as a Volunteer in the First Troop of Guards. At the beginning of this war [1702] he purchased Capt. Ganspoul's Company in Holt's Regt. [of Marines] and has constantly attended his duty till Oct. 1704, when he lost his right arm by a cannon-shot at Gibraltar, and received at the same time a contusion in his belly, which occasioned his being sent for England. Prays to be a Lt. Colonel or Major in the new Levies.

[Recommended by]

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

LORD PAWLET

L.T. GEN'L ERLE

MR. ANTH. HENLY

MR. PALMER.

DANIEL NEGUS.

Has been 15 years in the Service and 11 of them in the First Troop of Guards. He is recommended by his

Grace the Duke of Montagu for a Company in the New Levys and has a certificate from Col. Ogilby that he has behaved himself well on all occasions.

[Recommended by]

DUKE OF MONTAGU
COL. OGILBY.

To be a Lieutenant.

M.

LIEUT. JOHN DALMAS.

Of Col. Evans's Regt. Has served four years in the Troop of Guards formerly commanded by his Grace seventeen years as a Lieutenant, and Prays a Company in the Regt. he is in upon a promotion, or a Company in the New Levys. Is known to his Grace.

MR. PRICE.

Rid in the Guards—Was with the Duke of Ormond at Cales and Vigo—His elder brother has £3000 a year and Paternal estate in Barbados. Recommended for a Commission in the West Indies by his kinsman.

M. BARON PRICE.

Lieut.

MR. JOS. GIBSON.

Brother to a gentleman of very good estate in the County of Bucks. Is now a private Gentleman in one of the Troops of Guards—Prays a Lieutenancy in the New Levys.

[Recommended by]

LORD WHARTON.

M.

GEORGE HUSSEY.

Has served in the Army several years & is now a private Gentleman in the First Troop of Guards. Prays a Lieutenancy in the new Levys.

[Recommended by]

SIR CHOLMONDLY DEERING
GEO. EVELYN
T. TOKE
Ro. BURRIDGE
THO. COLEPEPYR.

ENSIGN JOHN BUCKLER.

Has served seven years in the Light Horse and six in the Troop of Guards—Is now an Ensign in Col. Wynne's Regt. Prays to be a Lieut. in the New Levys.

[Recommended by]

ROBT. EDEN
THO. MEDLYCOTT
JOHN BORLACE
HEN. MANALON.

MR. ROBT. SIMPLE.

Ridd six years in the Guards and was one of the 25 men reduced after the Peace. He has served as a Cadet in Brigadier Holt's Regt. ever since 1702. Prays a Lieutenancy in the New Levys.

[Recommended by]

BRIGDR. HOLT
MAJ. GEN. GUSTAVUS HAMILTON.

JOHN HAMILTON.

Has served sixteen years in the First Troop of Guards and nine Campagnes abroad & has always

behaved himself very well. Prays a Lieutenancy in the New Levys.

[Recommended by]

EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

EARL OF ORKNEY.

PETER DEGADVOIS.

WM. CARSON.

THOS. REEVES.

Private Gentlemen of the First Troop of Horse Guards certifyed by Col. Ogilby to be recommended by the Earl of Albemarle for some provision in the last levyes and to have served & to have served well all the last War in Ireland & Flanders. To be Lieutenants.

[Recommended by]

EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

COL. OGILBY.

MR. OFFLEY,

[and others.]

JAMES TAWSON.

Certifyed by Lt. General Cholmondry to have served six years in the Troop of Grenadier Guards and behaved himself on all occasions as a good soldier. Recommended for a Lieutenant's or Ensign's Commission in the New Levyes.

[Recommended by]

SIR STEPHEN FOX.

JOHN JEROME.

Hath served three years in the Army as Voluntier, and four years in the Second Troop of Horse Guarde and hath been out of employ ever since the breaking up of the Office of the Commissioners for stating the Public Accounts. Prays to be a Lieutenant.

HENRY BRIDELL.

Hath served some years in the Third Troop of Horse Guards and not doubting but to raise men with very good success. Prays to be a Lieutenant.

[Recommended by]

MAJOR GEN. WOOD.

JOHN DRYBROUGH.

Hath served upwards of six years in the Second troop of Guards—Is a Gentleman of integrity and fidelity to the Government and interest in his Country [*i.e.* neighbourhood] to raise men for her Majesty's Service—To be a Lieutenant.

[Recommended by]

LORD CREW.

JOHN HOAR.

Hath served the Crown 13 years in Flanders and England in Lt. Gen. Lumley's Regt. of Horse, and afterwards in the Second Troop of Guards till the late Peace that 15 men were reduced by Order out of each of the troops of Guards of which he was One; and thereupon entered himself in the Royal Regt. of Horse Guards where he still continues. During all which service he behaved himself with diligence & bravery. Prays to be a Lieutenant.

[Recommended by]

LT. GEN. LUMLEY.

COL. CROWTHER.

COL. WROTH.

COL. PULTENEY.

JAMES WALKER.

Has been 15 years in the Second Troop of Guards & six thereof abroad. Prays to have a Lieutenant's Commission.

[Recommended by]

MR BREEDON OF BARECOURT.

ISAAC CRUNDALL.

Hath served in the First Troop of Horse Guards and on all occasions behaved with reputation. Prays to be a Lieutenant.

[Recommended by]

SIR H. D. COLT.

SIR WM. STRICKLAND.

COL. WALPOOLE.

SIR WM. ASHURST,
[and several others.]

WM. BUNTING.

Hath served 18 years in the Army, 12 in Lt. Gen. Lumley's Regt. & six in the First Troop of Horse Guards & received 17 wounds—Alleges he was recommended last year for a Lieut's Commission by Sir Walter St John and the Countess of Lindsey.

M.

MR. JAMES READ.

One of the Gentlemen of the Third Troop of Guards having served all the last War prays a Lieutenancy in the New Levies.

[Recommended by]

COL. HATTON COMPTON.

CHARLES DILKE.

His Father Captain Dilke of the First Troop of Horse Guards hath served the Crown 22 years, 15 thereof as a Commissioned officer and hath several children unprovided for. To be an Ensign.

[Recommended by]

LORD LOVELACE.

LORD FAIRFAX.

M.

MR. NEEDHAM.

Son of Capt. Needham, Adj't. to the First Troop of Guards, who has been 18 years in the said Troop and lost several relations in the service of the Crown in the late Wars of Ireland and Flanders, on whom his fortunes wholly depended, and now prays that his Son may be made an Ensign in the Lord Lovelace's Regt. in which his Lordship is desirous to have him.

[Recommended by]

LORD LOVELACE.

M.

CORNET HARVEY

Was a cornet in the Lord of Arran's regiment from its raising to the time it was disbanded, and was upon half pay with the other officers, but not being sufficient to support his Numerous Family he found an opportunity of purchasing Two Commissions as adjutant and Quarter Master to the Royal Regiment of Horse. That being under a necessity of borrowing this money he was obliged to sell his said commission to pay it, not being able to save so much out of his pay. He humbly prays a company in the new Levys, in consideration of his now being deprived of half pay.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE military portion of the ceremonial observed at the Elector of Brunswick's accession to the throne as King George the First conformed closely to what had now become an established tradition. On September 18th, 1714, the King landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the Duke of Northumberland as Gold-Stick-in-Waiting with a hundred Life Guards and fifty Horse Grenadiers. On the following day the whole of their six troops marched to Greenwich, in readiness to attend the new Sovereign at his public entry into London on September 20th. During their absence from London, the guard at Whitehall was furnished by the Blues.* In the procession next day the Horse Grenadiers formed the advance guard, the Life Guards escorting and following the royal carriage in which were seated the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Northumberland. At the Coronation they performed their customary functions, and continued as in previous reigns to

* 1714, September. "In answer to your letter wherein you signify the Lords Justice Command that the Royal Regt of Horse shd take the Guard at the Horse Guard instead of the 20 men belonging to the 4 troops of horse guards who are to march with the rest to attend the King at Greenwich, there is only stabling for 50 horses at the Horse Guards who mount their daily I therefore entreat you will let me know whether their Excell intend the whole regt which consists of 337 men and officers included—It be ordered to mount or that part as shall be sufficient to keep guard there during the absence of the 4 tp of Horse Guards.

"T. GEORGE

"D. J. ADDIER."

escort the King or the representatives of royalty on all public occasions.*

The adherents of the other claimant to the throne—known to them as King James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland—were numerous in both countries. Jacobite hopes, which had been strengthened during the preceding reign, materialised in the unsuccessful rising in Scotland and the north of England in 1715.

The Life Guards remained in London, being, however, collected from their various scattered quarters and concentrated in an encampment in Hyde Park. The army was found to be reduced to so dangerously small a force that several disbanded regiments had to be restored and some new ones formed. The hot fit was soon, however, succeeded by another cold one. The increase was only temporary, and by 1719 the British army numbered no more than 12,000 men. A quarrel with Spain was the occasion in 1718 of a Jacobite expedition from Cadiz

* The Lords Justices, in exercise of their regency during the King's absence, issue an order for an escort for the royal princesses:—

1719, May 10th. To the Captains and Colonels of His Majesty's several troops of Horse and Grenadier Guards. The Lords Justices direct that, as the young Princesses are suddenly to remove to Kensington, you cause the same Guard to be kept of the several troops of Horse and Grenadier Guards during their Royal Highnesses' residence there as when His Majesty is in the said Palace in person, and that there and at any such other of His Majesty's Palaces where their Royal Highnesses shall reside the Officers who shall be upon duty do observe such orders as they shall receive from the Countess Dowager of Portland Governess to their Royal Highnesses.

The Lords Justices, as representing the Crown, are entitled to a royal salute:—

1719, May 28th. It is their Excellencies the Lords Justices directions that when a quorum of them are together (any four being such) the Horse and Grenadier Guards in whatever place on duty do salute them in the same manner as when His Majesty is present in person with this difference, that they do not drop their standard or salute any of them at any time when single.

under the command of Ormond.* This attempt, too, proved abortive. The prevalence among the populace of Jacobite sympathies is exemplified by such an incident as the following :—

1715, May 29th. “The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots and orders of the Justices for maintaining the Peace, repeated tumults were raised by the Malcontents in the cities of London and Manchester. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the King’s Birth with the usual marks of Joy and Festivity were insulted by the Populace; but next day, which was the anniversary of the Restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The People even obliged the Life Guards who patrolled through the Streets, to join in the Cry of “High Church and Ormond,” and in Smithfield they burned a picture of King William. Thirty Persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Burnois, a school master, who affirmed that King George had no right to the Crown, was tried and scourged through the City with such severity that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture.”†

Doran (*London in Jacobite Times*) records that in 1715 “detachments of Horse Guards patrolled the suburbs, and

* In 1703 Ormond had been appointed to the vice-royalty of Ireland, which he held till sent to supersede Marlborough in the command of the army abroad. His commission as Commander-in-Chief is dated January 4th, 1711. In 1712, acting under Queen Anne’s orders, he greatly incensed the Allies by arranging a separate suspension of hostilities with the French. On the accession of George I. this was declared an act of high treason, for which a Bill of Attainder was passed August 20th, 1715, and after his attempt to invade the kingdom an order dated January 24th, 1719, offered a reward of £10,000 for his capture, alive or dead. Remaining in exile, Ormond turned Jacobite and lived till 1745, when he died at Madrid at the age of ninety-four. The injustice done to his character by false allegations is illustrated by a newspaper paragraph of 1721 :—

“It is said in one of the Public Papers of this day that the late D. of Ormond had kill’d one of his footmen as he was waiting on him at dinner, which proves to be false. One of his cooks died of the Cholic which might occasion the report.” (*Evening Post*, Sat., Aug. 5th, 1721.)

† Tindal’s *Continuation of Rapin’s H. E.*, v. 424—5; compare *London and the Kingdom*, iii.

delegations of Scotch Presbyterian ministers marched up, day after day, to St. James's, to congratulate the King on being securely seated on his throne. Now and then one of the above guards, yielding to love of liquor, would drink the Pretender's health, for a draught of ale, gratis; and would find himself next day in Newgate, in the company of priests whose papers and persons had just been seized by Messengers, or in the place of rebel-prisoners who had just escaped, or who had died, as poor captives died, of that loathsome confinement."

Jacobitism, indeed, was not unknown in the army, the Scots regiments naturally being specially disaffected.* One morning, as the Fourth (or Scots) Troop of Life Guards were about to turn out, an officer named Smith was arrested in Whitehall and carried off to Newgate, on the Secretary-of-State's warrant, for high treason, his captor drawing from his pockets a commission signed by the Chevalier St. George. It was commonly reported that on the very day of his arrest Smith was to have sold his post at the Horse Guards.†

The Scots Troop of the Life Guards, from the time of its formation till it was brought permanently down south to London, had led a comparatively uneventful, not to say humdrum, existence. On blossoming out into the Fourth Troop of Guards, it at once, as though to make up for lost time, entered on a career of a more or less stormy character. It began by bringing sensational charges of fraud against the officer responsible for its pay; a little

* A news-sheet of November, 1718, says, "Tuesday last a pte Centinel of the 1st Reg. of Guards ran the gantlet in St. James's Park for saying that all the Officers and Soldiers in the Scotch reg. of Guards were rebels and Jacobites or words to the like effect."

Another journal, of January, 1719, has the following:—"A C.M. was held on John Devenish, a centinel in the Scots Guards, for cursing the King, and proclaiming the pretender, when on his duty."

† Doran, *London in Jacobite Times*.

later its Jacobite sympathies were a continual source of anxiety to the much-tried Government.

Under date of August 27th, 1720, a newspaper thus describes an unfortunate affray which occurred during the holding of Bartholomew Fair at Smithfield :—

Friday night last Nicholas Moor Esq of Ofthorpe Hall near Leeds in Yorks, was unfortunately killed in Smithfield by one Mr. Giles Hill of the 3d Tp of Gds, who was thereupon carried next morning before Sir W. Withers & committed to Newgate. It appear'd on examination of several witnesses upon Oath before Sir W., that the prisoner & another gentleman of the Gds being recommended to the Ram Inn for the best Wine in the fair, went thither & had a room, & that the House being full, the deceased desired leave to sit & drink in their company, which they did & friendly for some hours, during which the deceased treated the company with filberts, but that some Fidlers coming in to divert them, after several tunes, the deceased made them play that call'd the D of Ormondes march, after which he drank his health to the Landlord of the House, who declining it, he proposed it to the prisoner. The gentleman of the Gds having resented the tune, & being provoked to a great degree by the proposal of the Health said he was both a knave & a fool to propose the Heath of a Traitor to them who wore his H.M's cloth & eat his bread. It appeared that this occasioned high words on both sides, till at last the prisoner ran the deceased into the left side & he died on the spot.

Doran* adds a few particulars :—

The Jacobites swore that the trooper had slain him before the 'squire could draw his own sword to defend his life. The Whigs swore all was done in fair fight, and pointed to the naked sword at More's side. The 'Jacks' accused them of having taken advantage of the confusion that prevailed, when the 'squire fell, to draw his sword from the scabbard and lay it at his side. The issue of all was that Hill was tried (on September 8) and was convicted of Manslaughter. His sentence was to be burnt in the hand; but this could be done, on occasions, with cold iron; and the loyal soldier was restored, nothing the worse, to his regiment.

There was also some trouble in the Fourth Troop of Guards over the custom that had grown up of soldiers engaging in trade. Doran says that in 1718 "there came

* Doran, *London in Jacobite Times*.

an order that such of the Gentlemen of the 4th troop of Horse Guards (commanded by the Earl of Dundonald) as followed trades, should abandon such lay occupation within three months, or dispose of their posts.* This strange order becomes easier to understand, when it is remembered that Gentlemen is the word still applied to the whole regiment ; and that, in 1718, Government did not like the practice of the soldier being half the day a civilian."

Some compensation was afforded to the Army for various restrictions ; pay was advanced to 5s. a week, and clothes were to be furnished without deductions.

But disaffection was not stifled :—" Two or three times a week, privates who had talked in too laudatory terms of King James or who had deserted King George, were to be seen by thousands of spectators in the Park undergoing the severe punishment, some of running, others of walking, the gauntlet."

It is possible to infer from the following item of news, that the Commandant of the Fourth Troop, Lord Dundonald, was held to blame for its unsatisfactory condition :—

1719, March 24. The E. of Dundonel, who has the command of the 4th Tp of Gds, has orders to sell, and it is thought will be succeeded by Ld. Forrester."

Certainly Lord Forrester did his best to make his command popular :—

1719, August 1. Last Saturday the Ld Forrester, Col. of the 4th Tp of the L. G. gave a splendid entertainment to the Officers of his Tp and several other gentlemen at Putney, where were fireworks and a large Bonfire before his Ldshp* door.

Yet, observes Doran, " there was something wrong about Lord Forrester's troop of Horse Guards, the

* August 7th, 1718. *Evening Post.* " Last Saturday Orders came to the first, second, & third troop of guards, that those who keep public houses etc should quit their Occupations or the service."

Gentlemen of which were ordered to dispose of their places."

It is to the credit of King George's Government that it should have resisted a temptation against which James the Second had not been proof:—

1719, October 31. Paul Miller a pte Trooper in the 1st Tp of Horse Grenadiers, having some days ago made a proposal to Mr Secretary Craggs to go & assassinate the Pretender, was by Mr. Secretary's warrant, presently taken into the custody of a messenger, & the matter being laid before the Ld Chief Justices, they ordered that he should immediately be discharged out of H.M.'s Service & be prosecuted with the utmost severity; but he has since broke out of custody & made his escape.

When the Jacobite scare had subsided, the country, in January, 1720, entered on a period of twenty years' peace.

The year 1722 saw the death of the splendid warrior who had succeeded in establishing England's military prestige in Europe. The Duke of Marlborough, after his unexampled series of great victories, was the victim of political hatreds and deprived of all his offices in England. Having lived in exile during the last two years of Queen Anne's reign, Marlborough returned home on the accession of King George to find himself excluded from the commission of regency which ruled in the King's name. If anything could have made amends for this slight, it was the extraordinary welcome given him by his countrymen. He was re-appointed to the posts in the Army he had held before, but these were purely honorary, all power being now concentrated in the civilian Secretary-at-War.

On June 16th, 1722, Marlborough died.* On July 14th

* Noble, as usual, delights in depreciating and belittling the character of a distinguished man. He writes (*Biogr. Hist. Eng.*, i.):—

"JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

... In England he engrossed almost all power, which he made subservient to his love of money. Spending an evening once at West



John 1st Duke of Marlborough.
From a picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
belonging to the Viscount Churchill.



his body was brought to Marlborough House, but not till August 9th was he borne to his rest at Westminster. The magnificent and most impressive funeral procession was led by a detachment of Horse Grenadiers under Colonel Fane. Before the body of the illustrious dead marched a detachment of the First and Third Troops of the Life Guards under Lord Newburgh, while the rear was brought up by the Second and Fourth Troops.

Gate with Lord Bath, & his brother, General Pulteney, who had been the Duke's aide-de-camp in Flanders, he lost some money at play ; on rising to go to his own residence in another part of Bath, he asked the general to lend him sixpence to pay his chair-hire :—the loan was granted. ' Brother,' said Lord Bath, ' I would venture any sum that his Grace goes home on foot. Do follow him out.' The General did, and to his astonishment found that he did walk all the way home. In short, his avarice was proverbial."

CHAPTER XXXV

KING George the First is not a popular character in English history. He was disliked chiefly because he was not an Englishman and had little or no knowledge of, or sympathy with, the English character. But his real merits have been seriously underrated, if not wholly unrecognised. It is time that those, at least, who reverence the British Army should deal justly with the memory of a King who rendered it many signal services.*

King George found the Army a prey to politicians. He did his best to rescue it from that intolerable fate. He tried from the first to remedy indiscipline and corruption. If his attempts to abolish the system of buying and selling commissions were not successful, it was because the Board of General Officers was too strong for him. After a five years' struggle he had perforce to be content with regulating the practice of purchase, and in 1720 there was issued the first of a series of tariffs fixing the prices at which commissions were to change

* His care for small details is shown by his rules as to compliments :—

The Horse Guards to pay no honours to Generals, except when in line with other troops, or mixed in detachments, or under review by a General.

The Horse Guards mount no General Guard. They turn out only to the Commander-in-Chief, if he be a Gen^l or Lieut.-Gen^l.

They are to turn out at the head of their Camp when the General passes along the Line.

The officers and soldiers of the Horse Guards, when detached, are to do equal duty with the troops they join.



Private Gentleman 1st Troop of Life Guards (circa) 1720.
From a picture at Windsor Castle.
by gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

hands. The list, so far as regards our present purpose, was as follows :—

PRICE OF COMMISSIONS, March 10th, 1720.

Horse Guards.

Colonel	£4,000
Cornet	£3,400
Guidon	£3,200
Exempt	£1,600
Brigadier	£1,000
Sub-Brigadier	£500
Adjutant	£300

Horse Grenadier Guards.

Colonel	£3,600
Major	£2,900
Lieutenant	£2,000
Guidon	£1,600
Sub-Lieutenant	£900
Adjutant	£270

R. Reg. of H. G.

Colonel	£4,000
Major	£3,300
Captain	£2,500
Capt. Lieutenant	£1,500
Lieutenant	£1,200
Cornet	£1,000
Quarter-Master	£300

The conditions under which commissions might be sold are also laid down :—

1720, March 8th. The Board of Gen. Officers that sat lately at H. Gds, W'hall, made the following orders in the army. That no Off. above the degree of a Lieut. be admitted as a purchaser to obtain any higher Rank, unless he hath served as a Commission Officer upwards of 10 years. That no Col. shall sell but to such as have rank of Col. or Lt. Col., no Lt. Col. but to such as have rank of Major, no Major but to such as have rank of Capt., etc.

Every Off. desiring leave to dispose of his commission, shall sign such his Request, and that he is content to resign at the price fixed, and lodge the same at the War Office, that a successor may be appointed by H.M.

Intimately connected with this reform was the need of

an accurate register of the particulars of all existing commissions in the Army:—

1715, April 30.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it hath been represented unto us that many and great Inconveniences have arisen amongst our Forces for want of an exact register of the Dates of all Officers Commissions by Virtue whereof they have or may take Rank in our Army; our will and pleasure is, that the Officers of the Army wheresoever now employed whose commissions are not already registered, do enter the same with our Secretary at War & with our Commissary General of the Musters, in the space of six months from the date hereof, pursuant to the 41st article of War. . . . And such Officers who have now commissions in our Army, and do not Enter the same as aforesaid, shall for such neglect lose the benefit of Such rank as they may be entitled to by Virtue of their Respective Commissions.

Though the Government dealt severely with sedition in the Army, the King was determined that the law should reach those who tempted the soldier from his allegiance. In 1716 (June 26th) was passed "An Act to punish persons who seduce soldiers to desert or papists who enlist in his Majesty's service." The law, once passed, was soon enforced:—

1716, July 14th. Isaac Dalton was try'd upon 3 several Indictments, one for Cursing the King, saying, King George is a rogue, God d—him. The second for persuading the Soldiers of the Guards to drink the pretenders health and giving them a shilling, both of which facts being plainly proved, the jury brought him in guilty.

This was at least to put the saddle on the right horse!

The fact was that, as always, our national spirit of indifference to discipline needed correction, and a wholesome influence in this respect was brought to bear on the Army by a King who was also a German prince. It was from the point of view of military discipline that King George so strongly objected to the traffic in commissions —justly holding, as he did, that unfit officers ought, if

culpably incapable, to be cashiered; if past work, to be retired on a pension.

In another direction the King's German notions worked for military efficiency. In August, 1716, he initiated the systematic inspection of every regiment by General Officers, besides reducing the numerous and diverse modes of drill to one uniform standard. The rule forbidding soldiers to engage in civil occupations is another example of his reforms. Against absentee officers he waged war unceasing if unsuccessful.* There, as in other matters, the King had to contend with the supineness, or worse, of the General Officers. Commanding officers were constantly absent from their regiments. In July, 1717, the King made an example of seven colonels by dismissing them from the Service, though they were apparently reinstated afterwards. This great abuse had taken too firm a hold to be rooted out at once. No doubt, too, one reason for military indiscipline was the supremacy successfully asserted over the Army by civilian officials. Another source of grave mischief against which King George set his face, in an order of August, 1716, was that of false musters. He also did his best to prevent illegal deductions from the soldiers' pay, a royal Warrant being issued in September, 1717, for the regulation of stoppages. "In fact," observes that most impartial writer, Mr. Fortescue,† "wherever the hand of King George the First can be traced in the administration of the Army, it is found working for

* 1719, June 11th.

LIST OF OFFICERS THAT ARE ABSENT FROM DUTY.

The following Officers are hereby ordered to return to their duties within 21 days, & all those belonging to Regts abroad or the Independent Co. do set out within 14 days on pain of having their commissions given to half pay officers of similar rank.

Royal Reg. H. Gds. Lt Col Fielding, Capt Ellwes, Lieut Wroth, Cornet Chipman, Cornet Taylor, Cor Sir Jam Chamberlayne, Chap Bayles, Chap Wm Key, Surgeon Small.

† *History of the British Army*, ii. 30.

integrity, economy, and discipline ; and it is sufficiently evident that when he gave decided orders the very officials at the War Office knew better than to disregard them."

Yet, disciplinarian as he was, King George was no mere martinet. His sympathies with the rank and file of his army showed themselves in various ways. Even deserters were given a chance on showing signs of amendment :—

1722, May 29. Many p^te soldiers having deserted from the Regiments to which they did formerly belong, & since entered themselves in other Corps, H.M. has been graciously pleased to grant his pardon to all persons whatsoever that shall have deserted as aforesaid before the 24th of this Instant May inclusive, & who are now in other regiments.

And has been likewise pleased to declare that it is his Royal Intention, they shall continue in the same regiments they now are, without being claimed by the Officers of the respective Corps, to which they did formerly belong.

So far as can be gathered from a careful study of contemporary records, the Life Guards and the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards were immune from the prevailing epidemic of desertion, which unfortunately infected even the Foot Guards. It is to the credit of both George the First and George the Second that they were in the habit of lightening the sentences of courts-martial by reducing the number of lashes and remitting the death-penalty, although the barbarity of the punishments was still extreme.

Once more, it is a proof of the King's sagacity that, against his personal wishes, he in 1716, on his own initiative, reduced the Army by 10,000 men, in wise deference to the English prejudice against a Standing Army—a prejudice which he also endeavoured to humour by ordering the withdrawal, during an election, of all troops to a distance of at least two miles from the polling-place, complaints having been made that soldiers interfered to intimidate voters. A further move in the same direction was the strict and severe repression of any abuses committed on civilians by the soldiery.



Private Gentleman.
2nd Troop of Life Guards (circa) 1720.
From a picture at Windsor Castle by gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

CHAPTER XXXVI

NO review of the state of the Army at this period should omit to notice the evil result of the long period of political disorder and unrest prevailing in England for a hundred years previously. The representatives of so-called Liberty, by whatever names they were known at various periods, succeeded in permeating the country with a spirit of indiscipline and lawlessness. It is not surprising that this evil tendency should be reflected in the Army, and find expression in a plethora of brawls, duels, and suicides. The following extracts from Luttrell and other contemporary diarists and from newspapers, relating to incidents subsequent to the Revolution, may serve to continue our tale of similar episodes belonging to the Restoration period.* They exhibit the extreme difficulty of the problem with which King George the First found himself called upon to deal.

A drunken brawl between two Horse Grenadiers, with its fatal consequences, is typical :—

1698, Thursday, May 12. Two H. Grenad^s drinking at an ale-house n^r Charing Cross some words happened betwixt them, whereupon one of them drawing his sword thrust the other over the table into the belly whereof he instantly died; and the other endeavouring to escape was prevented by a porter who stood at the door. (*Flying Post.*)

1698, July 20. The soldier who killed the Trooper near the Horse G^ds tried for his life. (*Ibid.*)

* *Vide* CHAPTER XI.

A Life Guard found dangerously wounded declines to state the circumstances :—

1699, April 8. On Friday last a Lieut of the Guards was found by a waggoner lying dangerously wounded in a field near Paddington : the waggoner placed him in his waggon & brought him to town, after which he was put in a coach & carried to his lodgings: he will not confess how he came by his wounds, which its thought are mortal. (*Ibid.*)

The Blues were not less quarrelsome :—

1696, May 30. Two of Lord Oxford's Regt. have fought and killed each other.

An ex-Life Guard takes part in a duel :—

1699, June 12. Duel between a disbanded Cornet and one in Col Matthews Reg. Latter killed former arrested. Fought in the Admiralty yard. (*London Post.*)

The Kirk case attained the dignity of a *cause célèbre* :—

1699, June 6. On Sunday night; Conway Seymour Esq. met in St. James Park Capt. Kirk of Lord Oxford's Regt with other Gentl^{ns}—the Capt. said, "There goes Beau Seymour" w^h being taken in distast Seymour boxed Kirk's ears. Swords were drawn, and Seymour was mortally wounded.

June. Grand jury of Middlesex find a bill of murder against Capt. Kirk. He is suspended from his commission.

1699, July. Capt. Kirk goes to Holland.

1699, November. The Dukes of Ormond, Richmond, & St. Albans, and Lord Oxford offer bail for Captⁿ Kirk. Bail is refused.

1700, January. Capt. Kirk is found guilty of manslaughter, his second being acquitted. He is ordered to appear at the Kings Bench bar to be burnt in the hand. This was postponed till the end of term. He is bailed by the Duke of Richmond, General Earl, Brig^r Trelawney and Col. Ray, who are bound body for body for his appearance.

A captain of the Third Troop engages in a fatal fight :—

1700, Saturday, March 2. On Sat. last Capt Monger of the [Third] H. Gds & Capt Wallis quarrelled & fought in Swallow S^t by the light of a lamp, where the first was killed upon the spot & the other mortally wounded. (*Post Boy.*)

Capt Wallis who killed Capt Monger is on the mending hand, though 2 of the 3 wounds he received were reckoned mortal. (*Flying Post.*)

An encounter between two gentlemen of the Second Troop ended happily enough to suggest that the duel need never have taken place:—

1700, July 3. On Saturday in the evening Mr. Charleton & Mr. Day both gentlemen of the 2d Tp of Guards quarrelled & went immediately into Red Lion Fields & going into one of the divisions of a great house that is building there, fought a duel, wherein the former received a slight wound; & the latter received so terrible a wound in the groin that he immediately fell; whereupon the other flinging by his sword, stooped & kissed him. Mr. Day was carried into a neighbouring house, & his wound being thought to be mortal, Mr. Charleton was secured but Mr. Day being something better the next day he sent to desire that the other might be admitted to bail, which was accordingly done, & he was no sooner at liberty but he went & paid him a visit when they expressed all imaginable friendship to each other. (*London Post.*)

Another account makes the wound mortal:—

1700, July. 2 life guard men fight near Bloomsbury; one is mortally wounded; he desires his adversary may not be prosecuted as he was forced into it.

In one troop of the Blues two fatal tragedies occur within seven years:—

1694, October. Two gentlemen of Capt Johnson troop in the Earl of Oxford's regiment (being part of them that are on the road for the King's coming) upon a quarrel fought yesterday. One was killed, the other got away. (*Luttrell.*)

1701, Nov. 13. Capt. Johnson—commander of the 1st troop of the E. of Oxford's Regt of horse guards has shot himself thro' the head with a pistol at his lodgings in Convent Garden; the reason not known, being always a cheerful gentleman, & of a plentiful fortune. (*Luttrell.*)

This is the sequel:—

Nov. 15. Mr. Dormer one of the grooms of the Bed Chamber is made Captn of a troop in E. of Oxford's regt in place of Capt Johnson who shot himself. (*Luttrell.*) [James Dormer, comm. 1701, col. & brig. genl. under Marlborough, raised a regt. of dragoons 1715, col. 6th ft. 1720, col. 1st Tp. Horse Gren. Gds 1738—42.]

Suicides were not common, though a second case soon occurs:—

1703, April 27. This day—one Smith—a life Guard man shott himself at the Kings Head in the Haymarket. (*Newspaper.*)

Hardly a year passed without these deeds of violence :—

1704, March. Monsieur Julien, a brigadier of the Life Guards has killed a gentleman of the guards in a duel.

It is not quite clear why an acquittal should be followed by a pardon, unless they refer to different charges :—

1704, September 9. Yesterday Harris the Life Guardsman was tryed at the old Bailey for robbing on the black mare and acquitted.

1705, April 28. Harris the Life Guardman condemned for robbery is pardoned.

The upshot of the petition here referred to seems to be unrecorded :—

1706, July. Petition to the Queen from John Will's of the 3rd troop of Horse Guards—under death sentence for accidentally killing Joseph Derry of the same Troop in a sudden quarrel. He and deceased were always good friends & served the late K. Will & H. M. in Ireland and Flanders. Has never been accused of any crime before and prays H. M. pardon. (*Dom. State Papers.*)

Here are the gruesome recitals of other tragedies :—

1708, April. Capt. Dent, Horse Grenadiers, is killed in a duel by a brother officer Capt. Morley.

1709, July, 5 gentlemen, two of them horse guards, draw swords in Arundel[1] Street, one mortally wounded.

1710, May. Brigadeer Marriott (Scotch troop) mortally wounds Mr. Dart in a quarrel in Pall Mall.

A duel on horseback has the merit of novelty :—

1717. On Sunday last Mr Merriot a sub-Brigadier in the 4th Tp of H. Gds and Mr. Dentze, an Exempt in the 2d Tp. fought a duel on Horseback at Hampton. The first of them was wounded by a Pistol-Ball which graz'd on his forehead & his horse was likewise shot under him. Mr. Dentze received a slight contusion in the breast. They had no seconds & some persons in the town who heard the sound of their pistols ran to where they were fighting, & prevented any further mischief but both those Offs. are since confin'd by Order of H. Majesty.

An already “ famous Trumpeter ” thus earns for himself a fresh title to fame :—

1719, September 19. On Sunday night last Mr. Davin the famous Trumpeter who belongs to the 1st Tp. of Gds., fought a duel at the Red Cow behind St. Clements, in which he received 3 Wounds, two in



Trumpeter. (circa) 1720.
From a picture at Windsor Castle by gracious permission of His Majesty the King

the breast 7 inches each, one in the Belly 10 inches, yet they are not supposed to be mortal. (*Weekly Post.*)

In some cases the names of the duellists are suppressed:—

1719, April 18. Last Saturday evening a Duel was fought near Marybone, between a Grenadier belong to the 1st Tp & a gentleman. The gren was killed & the gentleman got off, & is not yet heard of. (*Weekly Post.*)

The murder of Captain Southern, Southwern, or Southen created a considerable impression:—

1721, January 6. On Tuesd night Capt Southern, of the Ld Forresters Tp of L. Gds was killed by one Mr Peter Green, late a Right Hand Man in the same Tp who afterwards made his escape, & the Coroners Inquest having sat on the deceas'd gave their Verdict Wilful Murder. (*Evening Post.*)

1721, January 21. On Thurs morning last a Duel was fought in Falconbridge Court near Soho Sq, between Capt Southwern of the H. Gds a young gentleman who had but lately got his commission, & one Mr Green a pte gentleman of the Gds, who some time since sold out, wherein the former was killed on the spot. (*Newspaper.*)

1721, January 28. Whereas the Coroners Inquest have found that on the 25th instant, Peter Green, of St Ann's Soho did wilfully murder Nathan Southen Brigadier in the 4th Tp of H. Gds by stabbing him & is fled from Justice. . . . He is a fair, slender man, wears a glass eye & was lately a right hand man in the 4th Tp of H. Gds. (*Official Notice.*)

In the following instance the facts are more accurately known than the surname of the unfortunate victim of the quarrel, whose behaviour at the last does his memory credit:—

1725, February 11. Brigadier Wilson fights Mr. Tuthill, alias Tottle, alias Turtle, alias Tootle [alias Tollet].

1725, February 12. On Tuesday last about 2 in the morning, at the Three Tons Tavern in Chandois St, Mr Wilson, a Brigadier in the L. Gds & Mr Tollet an Ensign in the third reg of Ft Gds had the misfortune to engage in a duel in a room, the latter was mortally wounded & died at his lodgings in Round Court the same afternoon but before he departed he entirely forgave Mr Wilson & before the Drawers of the Tavern & other witnesses, desir'd he might not come to any harm for that he (the deceased) was the aggressor, & forc'd the combat, &

that the prisoner who is now in the gatehouse, was forc'd by him into a Corner of the room, before he drew his Sword.

1725, February 17. The Coroners Inquest having sate & examined witnesses in relation to the death of Ensign Tottle who was unhappily killed by Brig Wilson of the L. Gds, have brought in a verdict of Manslaughter.

1725, March 1. Last Thursday Brigadier Wilson was tried at Old Bailey for killing Ensign Tuthill. Verdict "se defendendo."

The Cook-Merrick duel was exciting interest at the same time as the foregoing. "The Duke of Bolton's Horse" is of course another *alias* of the Blues:—

1725, Mon., February 15. Last week a duel was fought between two Coronets in the D of Bolton's Horse at Winchester, in which one was killed on the spot & the other so dangerously wounded that his life is despaired of.

1725, February 17. The two Cornets were Mr Cook & Mr Merrick. The former dead the latter though wounded escaped. It was fought at Brentford & not at Winchester.

1725, February 19. Cornet Cook who killed Cornet Merrick is committed to Newgate.

Duelling with pistols receives a first mention:—

1725, December 17. Yesterday morn., Mr Barnsley a pte gentleman in the 1st Tp of L. Gds, & Mr Latton, son of — Latton, of Latton House, Surrey, fought a duel in Hyde Park with pistols. Mr Latton was shot in right breast & died immediately. The other escaped.

It seems incredible that Francis Chandler—Life-Guardsman or Horse Grenadier—could on two occasions within the twelvemonth have killed a bailiff. Yet the dates of the entries differ, as do the charges:—

1725, May 6. Francis Chandler a L.G.M. convicted of manslaughter & burnt in the hand. A bum-bailiff demanded one guinea & on the L.G.M. retreating & drawing pressed him so close as to receive his death wound.

1726, March 22. Last night between 11 & 12 o'clock one Richard Bunn was killed by a H. Gren. The H.G. owed a butcher one guinea & on being asked for it, swore "damn him he would pay it" & drew & killed him.

1726, April. A bill of murder was found against Francis Chandler the L.G.M. who killed Richard Bunn a bailiff.

Indiscipline assumes, of course, many forms. In the case of the Life Guards it is surprising to meet with such a news item as the following :—

1700, March 26. Last week some of the gentlemen of the second Tp. of Gds were broke because of their insolent behaviour to their Captain, upon notice of some reform he intended. (*Flying Post.*)

A similar reference is made to the Horse Grenadiers, of whom it is recorded :—

1716, December 1. Several of the H. Grenadiers, to the number of 37, have been lately broke.

But, above all, it is amazing to meet with actual mutiny among the Horse Grenadiers :—

1722, December 18. On Thursday last Mr Clark one of the Hon Col Fane's Horse Grenadier Gds, quartered at Maidston in Kent was picketed for a misdemeanour & the rest of the party being drawn out to see the said punishment inflicted on him, threw down their arms in a mutinous manner, upon which Capt. Hyde who commanded in chief & Capt Duverrey drew their swords & said. Those that are for K. George, let them take up their arms on pain of death ; which as we are informed they thereupon did crying out, " God bless K George, the Prince & the Royal family." However the ringleaders of the mutiny were secured & on Sat last three of them viz. Mr Lambert, Mr Chappel & Mr Wallington were brought up prisoners to Town, & committed into Custody of Mr Hinkley the Marshal in Cock Court Dean St.

1723, January 24. On Thursday last Mr Lambert, Mr Chappel, & Mr Wallington the three mutinous Horse Grenadiers, received their final punishment at Maidstone, being whipt for the last time ; & they were afterwards dismissed their troop.

An occasion occurred in 1726 when the officers of the Life Guard had to rescue another regiment in a very discreditable emergency :—

1726, October 10th. H. Pelham to Col. Bland.

" I am sorry to hear that the officers commanding the detachment of Lord Cobham's Regiment, now on the Prince of Wales's Guard, were so careless of their duty as to suffer the Troopers to be drunk when actually attending His Royal Highness. When the Prince returned from London last Wednesday, but three Troopers appeared, and they drunk—no officer at the head of them, so that the Officer who commanded the Horse Guards was forced to post himself at the head of the Troopers." (W. O., Class 4, vol. 27.)

APPENDIX

SEVERAL items of news relate to weavers' riots in London:—

1719, March 19th. "On Monday last the Third Troop of Guards, under the command of Lord Newburgh, pitched their tents in the Pest Fields, near Golden Square, and have orders to encamp there at an Hours warning." (*Newspaper.*)

1719, June 11th, Thursday. "Last Thursday in the afternoon the Weavers who assembled that morning in a tumultuous manner, upon appearance of a detachment of the Guards, dispersed themselves, but got together again last night, & did more mischief.

"This morning at 4, a detachment of the Guards went from Whitehall, and having dispersed them, returned about 9.0. Several of the Weavers are taken and committed." (*Newspaper.*)

1719, June 13th, Saturday. "Last Friday night when the Guards were returned to Whitehall the Weavers go together again, tearing all the Calico gowns that they could meet with which occasioned a strong detachment of Guards to be again sent into the city." (*Newspaper.*)

One of the inconveniences incidental to the Billeting system is thus described:—

In September, 1735, the officers commanding the detachments of Blues quartered at Putney, Fulham, and Wandsworth complained of the inconvenience caused by innkeepers providing billets for men and stables for horses sometimes a mile and half apart, and the Queen* directed that the powers conferred by the Mutiny Bill should be examined and the matter adjusted.

* The King, George the Second, was presumably absent in Germany.

CHAPTER XXXVII

IT was to be expected that the commands of the Troops of Life Guards and of the Royal Regiment of Horse, to which such considerable emoluments and powerful patronage were attached, would be frequently bestowed as marks of special royal favour, or as rewards for signal political services.

Allusion has already been made to the glaring job which marked the appointment to the First Troop of Life Guards of the first Earl of Albemarle in 1699. Eleven years later he was succeeded by another nobleman of Dutch origin, Henry, second Earl and first Duke of Portland, the son of King William's friend, William Bentinck, by his marriage with Frances Villiers, sister of the Countess of Orkney. Portland is reputed to have inherited his father's physical good looks and charm of manner, and was once described as "the finest person and most accomplished gentleman that ever adorned the British Court."*

In 1713 Portland sold his commission for £10,000 to John, third Baron and first Earl of Ashburnham, who in later life was appointed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. Lord Ashburnham's connection with the Household Cavalry was of short duration, for in 1715 he resigned (for a consideration, of course) the First Troop to John, Duke of Montagu, a peer of whom it has been severely recorded that he exhibited the characteristics rather of a buffoon than of a soldier.

* In an address from Jamaica (*Political State, etc.*, xxv., p. 120).

Montagu's only military service consisted of a flying visit to the head-quarters in Flanders of his father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough. He officiated as High Constable at the Coronation of George the First, who immediately afterwards approved his appointment to the Colonelcy of the First Troop, which he resigned to Lord Herbert in 1733. Four years later he was re-appointed, but resigned a second time the same year. Later he was made Colonel of the regiment now known to fame as "the Bays." Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, wrote to Lord Stair, "All my son-in-law's talents lie in things natural to boys of fifteen, and he is about two and fifty: to get people into his gardens and wet them with squirts, to invite people to his house and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty other such pretty fancies." The Duke, however, had a less frivolous side to his character. Two years after he took post in the Life Guards, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and sedulously attended the Harveian orations.

He was succeeded by Lord Herbert, who subsequently became the ninth Earl of Pembroke, and was dubbed "the architect earl." Horace Walpole spoke of him as a second Inigo Jones, and it was his influence that, in 1736, secured for the great Swiss architect, Labelge, the order to build Westminster Bridge. Caroline "the illustrious," to whom Lady Herbert had acted as maid of honour, wrote of him, "He is the best creature in the world, and means very well, but is not so tractable as his father, and full as mad."

On July 4, 1733, Colonel John Fane was translated from the command of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, which he had held for sixteen years, to that of the First Troop of Life Guards. To qualify him for the office of Gold Stick, he was given an Irish peerage; but



*A Horse Grenadier (circa) 1720.
From a picture at Windsor Castle.
by gracious permission of His Majesty the King.*

three years later he succeeded his brother as seventh Earl of Westmorland, when he retired from a military life which had been one of great distinction—especially in Flanders under Marlborough. He was elected four times to Parliament and was once disqualified. Curiously enough, he eventually succeeded another ex-Colonel of Life Guards, the Earl of Arran,* in the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford.

To the command of the Second Troop, on the final retirement of the Duke of Northumberland in 1715, was appointed a far more efficient officer in the person of Algernon Seymour, Earl of Hertford and subsequently Duke of Somerset. His services under Marlborough were of a conspicuously high order, and he was selected by the Commander-in-Chief to carry home to Queen Anne the despatch announcing the victory of Oudenarde. He then commanded the 15th Foot during the campaigns of 1710, 1711, and 1712. He retained his Troop until 1740, when he took over the command of the Blues. His wife acted as a lady of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline, and was an ardent patroness of men of letters.

John, Baron Delawarr, created in 1760 Viscount Cantelupe and Earl Delawarr—who took over the First Troop on August 30, 1737, when the Duke of Montagu, after a period of command which only lasted a few weeks, had resigned it for the second time—was equally prominent as a soldier, a courtier, a politician, and a man of business. Like Lord Albemarle, he had served previously in the troop as Guidon and Senior Major, and had further been promoted Lieutenant Colonel. He was a lord of the bedchamber to George the First, and in 1736 conducted the Princess-designate of Wales from Saxe-Gotha to England.

* Charles Butler, Earl of Arran, commanded the 3rd Troop of Life Guards from 1703 to 1715, when, on the impeachment of his brother, the Duke of Ormond, he retired from the army.

Lord Hervey, who spoke of him as a long, lank, awkward person, said that no fitter choice could have been made to disarm any possible jealousy on the part of the Prince of Wales. The year following his appointment to the command of the Life Guards he was named Governor of New York and New Jersey, but was too busy to leave England. He was twice elected Speaker to the House of Lords in the absence of a Chancellor. He was responsible for the Bill to settle annuities on George the Second's younger children; he was a strong supporter of the Walpole Ministry, and urged the restoration to the Lords of their right to amend money-bills. In 1742 he made an elaborate speech against a mercantile measure for securing trade and navigation in time of war; in 1743 he "bested" the bishops with regard to the Government's Spirituous Liquors Bill, and the following year he hotly opposed a measure for enlarging the trade to the Levant, denying the reputed monopoly of the Turkey Company, of which—by the way—he was a director.

These pre-occupations notwithstanding, his interest in military affairs remained unabated. He retained for nearly thirty years the command of the First Troop; he led a brigade at Dettingen, where he highly distinguished himself; and he was afterwards promoted in succession Major-General, Lieutenant-General, and, in 1765, General of Horse.

In May, 1740, one of the not unusual transfers between Life Guards and Blues took place, and the Troop which Lord Hertford relinquished for the command of the Blues was assigned to Charles Spencer, second Duke of Marlborough, and held by him for two years, when he took over the Second Regiment of Foot Guards and the following year commanded the Brigade of Foot Guards at Dettingen.

A successor to his Troop was found in Charles, Lord Cadogan. The new Captain retained his command until



*Charles 2nd Duke of Marlborough.
From a picture in the possession of the Viscount Churchill.*

his death in 1776. Although he had previously been Colonel of the 4th Foot and the 6th Dragoons, he was perhaps more remarkable as a politician and a Fellow of the Royal Society than as a soldier. To his marriage with the daughter of Sir Hans Sloane is due the connection of the Cadogan family with the borough of Chelsea.

In March, 1743, Lord Tyrawley succeeded Lord Craufurd in command of the Second Troop of Horse Grenadiers, and two years later, on his return from a special mission to Russia, he was promoted to the Third Troop of Life Guards. His office as Gold Stick only lasted one year, when on the disbandment of the Troop he was transferred successively to the commands of the 10th Foot, the 14th Dragoons, the 3rd Dragoons, and finally the Coldstream Guards. As a Field Marshal he presided over the court-martial demanded by Lord George Sackville, his demeanour towards whom was characterised as "brutal." He owed Lord George a grudge for having moved a vote of censure on him for his expenditure on works at Gibraltar.

In April, 1745, John Leslie, ninth Earl of Rothes, who had distinguished himself at Dettingen, succeeded Lord Tyrawley as Captain of the Second Troop of Horse Grenadiers. This appointment, however, lasted only a month, when he was transferred to the 6th Dragoons—Lord Petersham (afterwards Earl of Harrington) receiving the vacant command for his gallantry at Fontenoy.

As regards the Blues, Lord Rivers was destined to be their Colonel for six months only, and on his death in August, 1712, the Government being specially anxious to keep in good humour that dazzling genius, Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, bestowed on him the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards. The three years during

which he held the coveted post synchronised with probably the least restless period of his existence: part of it being spent in entertaining literary and artistic society at his villa on Parsons Green, and part in going on a special mission to Italy of an ornate, but not very important, character. The accession of George I., and consequent return to power of the Whigs, caused his eclipse, and in 1715 he was ordered to hand over the Regiment to John, Duke of Argyll, to whom it was given as a reward for his success in quelling the Rebellion in Scotland. For some mysterious reason Argyll fell into Court disfavour two years later, and, with other appointments, resigned the Blues.

The new Colonel was the young Marquess of Winchester, who had just been called to the House of Lords as Lord Basing, afterwards succeeding as third Duke of Bolton. He was appointed in 1714 a lord of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. As a boy, he had been so turbulent and troublesome that his master wrote, "Young Lord Winchester refuses to be governed, absents himself from school, by no persuasion will be prevailed upon to follow his studies, but takes what liberty he thinks fit upon all occasions." The same year that Lord Basing was gazetted to the Blues he received the Garter. Other honours rained upon him, in spite of his persistent opposition to Walpole, who bore with him until 1733, when the Prime Minister's patience broke down, and he persuaded the King to deprive him of his regiment and all other offices.

Hervey's criticism is severe:—"The Duke is a dissatisfied man, for being as proud as if he had been of any consequence, as vain as if he had some merit, and as necessitous as if he had no estate, so he was troublesome at Court, hated in the country, and scandalous in his regiment." This last opprobrium refers less to military misdemeanours than to affairs of gallantry, for which the Duke was unpleasantly notorious.

The Duke of Argyll then, after a sixteen years' interval, resumed the command of the Blues, and signalled his restoration to military office by a famous speech in the House of Lords in which he declared that "a standing army never had in any country the chief hand in destroying the people's liberties." This very praiseworthy pronouncement was a curious reversal of a former utterance of the same speaker in 1718, when in the debate on the Mutiny Bill he opined that "a standing army in time of peace was ever fatal either to the prince or the nation."

Argyll retained the colonelcy until 1740, when, during a period of unrest caused by intense agricultural depression, he attacked the Government so fiercely that he was summarily deprived of all appointments. "Fall flat, fall edge," he exclaimed as he received the news of his deprivation, "we must get rid of these people." As the remark was offered to that sturdy Jacobite General Keith, it was not clear whether allusion was made to the King or to the Ministry.

Argyll's continued attacks on Walpole contributed in no slight degree to the resignation of that statesman in 1742, when the Duke for the third time assumed command of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, and was also made Master-General of the Ordnance and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in South Britain.

His ambition, however, caused him to overreach himself. He was known to aim at the supreme command of the whole army. Oxford* is reported to have said, "Two men wish to have command of the army—the King and Argyll; and by G—, neither of them shall have it!" In a few weeks Argyll not only resigned the Blues to the Earl of Hertford—who had been in command during the two previous years—but also relinquished all other offices, and

* Robert Harley (lord treasurer, 1711-4), cr. Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, 1711.

retired into private life; his death ensuing the following year.*

The patronage enjoyed by the colonels was of course especially exercised in the bestowal of commissions.

A letter from the Duke of Argyll, written during his second tenure of the colonelcy, offers Mr. John Forbes—a gentleman whose name will occur more than once in the ensuing chapters—a commission in the Blues:—

24 Sep. 1738.

MY LORD:

The Duke of Argyll intended to have wrote to you himself today but some compaines coming in hindered it, and—not to lose any time—has commanded me to acquaint you that he has received advice of the death of the Q.M. to the King troop in the Royal Regt. of Horse Guards of w^h His Grace is Captain, and desires to know if you please to let y^r son accept of it. The Q. Masters of that reg' are on a different footing from other Regts, they have the Kings commission and severall persons of quality have been quarter masters in it; particularly, lately Capt. Fielding, L^d Denbigh's brother, who purchased a Company of foot with what he sold that commission for; and that, if your son takes it, it may be a means of getting forward if an opportunity offers, or he may afterwards do as you or he think proper; and it is His Grace's opinion he sh^d take it.

My Lord Duke desires you will let him have your answer as soon as possible.

I am, Y^r Lordship's obed^t serv^t,

JAMES COCKBURN.

I had forgot to tell yo^r Ldsp that the pay of the Q.M. is eight Shillings & sixpence a day.

Here follows the reply, which for obsequiousness it might be hard to beat:—

CULLODEN, 6 Oct. 1738.

Last post brought me y^r Graces commands to acquaint you whether I w^d consent to my son accepting a Q. Mastership in your Troop. The

* 1742, March 11th. "To the Ld Pres.—No doubt yr Lordship will hear by this post of the Duke of Argyll having laid down all his places. His Grace resigned yesterday his employments to H.M. with all the respect due to the King, & with all the sedatness becoming a Great Man & I do assure you Every honest man approves of what he has done. The D. of Montague has got the ordnance again." (*Culloden Papers.*)

possession of your Graces good will upon principles that I think honest has been the chief pleasure & pride of my life. Now if my Son—tho at present not so perfect as I c^d wish him—should under your eye improve so as to share any part of your favour—as I am confident he is honest and has an hereditary veneration for Your Grace—it w^d cut off all further solicitude about the things of this world, & I shall dy, whenever that be my lot, with great tranquillity.

To have obtained the favour even of so magnificent a personage seems a small enough occasion to elicit so fervid a *Nunc Dimitis*. Four years later, however, the writer's health was fairly robust, as son John found to his cost on receiving the following paternal lecture, which at any rate testifies that the “extravagance in smart cavalry regiments” of which we hear from time to time is not an original product of the twentieth century.

The Lord President, writing to his son, Mr. John Forbes (of the Blues), says:—

EDINBURGH, 3 June 1742

MY DEAR JOHN

As you desire I have given you credite for £100 which I understand you are to call for only from time to time as you have use for it, partly towards y^r expedition, partly, if necessary, for your support in Flanders. I give this credite without hesitation at this time because your marching is necessary, but I cannot omit to tell you that I am not satisfied with the Expence which you have lately drawn yourself and me into. I ordered your bills for £60 and £100 to be payed without putting the Question to yourself, how you came to outrun your pay so far. But I took care to inform myself from some of my acquaintance concerning the cause of that expence, and I confess I have not received Satisfaction. I do not incline to put you out of countenance by asking any questions on that subject, which is now over, but I must let you know that, unless you regulate your expence better, I shall be obliged to recall you from the trade you have chose, to the doing of which I am confident I shall have the approbation of that great Man (the Duke of Argyll) who first engaged you in it, and who must know my reason for my resolution, should your conduct make it necessary. Tho' I am thorouly displeased with y^r behaviour in point of expence, yet I hope I shall have no reason to be dissatisfied with your Conduct as a Man, in point of Courage, Temper or Care in the trade you have undertaken.

Y^r loving Father,
DUN. FORBES.

(*Culloden Papers.*)

APPENDIX

THE following shows the King's self-diffidence as to promotions :—

1740. H. Walpole to R. Trevor :—"As to those vacancies in the Guards, Lord Harrington being at Hanover will give the turn of the scale in favour of the person he likes, for the King often tells Sir Robert he does not understand the army nor who ought to be promoted there."

Twenty years later the diffidence has vanished, though the inability to "understand who ought to be promoted" seems as conspicuous as ever, for in 1760 the King insisted, in spite of protest, on the appointment of one of his pages to a cornetcy in the Blues. See the APPENDIX to CHAPTER XLV.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TO the student of history there could be no more striking proof of our national virility under the Hanoverian dynasty than the light-hearted readiness of the Government and the people to enter upon a Continental war at the very moment when British power had been exhausting itself in a fruitless contest with Spain in the West Indies. It is difficult for the modern observer to enter sympathetically into the chivalrous motives which, in the reign of George the Second, prompted England, with a population of only nine and a half millions, to take up arms on behalf of Maria Theresa, who in 1740 inherited the dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles the Sixth. It might have been thought that an enterprise of this gravity would have been undertaken only in the firm conviction that the interests of England were at stake on the issue; whereas it is difficult to see how, except quite indirectly, they were concerned at all.

King George's reason for engaging in the war was not the generous one which actuated his Parliament. His desire was to attack France, partly as the enemy of his dynasty and patron of the Jacobites, and partly as a too powerful and intriguing neighbour of Hanover.

The only participant, and that an unwilling one, in the Anglo-Hanoverian combination on behalf of Austria, was the Dutch Republic. The rival claims of the Elector of Bavaria were upheld by France, Spain, Prussia, and Saxony. In England public opinion in support of

Maria Theresa was so keen, that in 1741 Parliament voted her a gift of £300,000, and promised to help her cause with 12,000 men.

The opening phase of the war was soon developed. In April, 1741, Frederick of Prussia invaded the Austrian province of Silesia, defeated the Austrians, and occupied the country. France sent one army to threaten Vienna and hurled another upon Hanover. King George, as Elector of Hanover, submitted to the inevitable, and promised to abstain both from active hostilities for a twelvemonth and from supporting the Queen's candidature by his vote.

The British Parliament, intensely irritated by this humiliating compact—coming as it did on top of the disasters to the British arms in the West Indies—in February, 1742 promptly voted another half-million of money to the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; consented to send abroad 16,000 British troops instead of the promised 12,000; and made a grant of £5,000,000 for the expenses of the war. During this session Parliament also fixed the total strength of the British Army at 62,000 men.

The force, of which the first instalments were sent to Flanders in May, 1742, and which was presently to be augmented by 6,000 Hessians and 16,000 Hanoverians in British pay, included the Blues,* who were despatched from Gravesend in the course of the summer. The Third and Fourth Troops of the Life Guards and the Second Troop of the Horse Grenadier Guards also embarked in August, landing at Ostend and marching to Ghent. The British troops were only by degrees sent over to Flanders, the Dutch, with an ill grace, but moved by necessity, consenting to receive them.

* One of the senior officers of the Blues at this date was Major Charles Jenkinson, father of the first, and grandfather of the second and famous Earl of Liverpool.

The Command-in chief of the foreign expedition was entrusted to the veteran Earl of Stair,* who as a youngster had fought half a century before in King William's Flanders campaigns, and had served with credit under Marlborough. His military capacity, unjustly aspersed by various writers, has been successfully vindicated by Mr. Fortescue, who contrasts the efficiency of his plans with the futility of the measures imposed upon him—partly by the too self-confident interference of the King, reinforced by the ignorance of his Ministers, partly by the obstinate stupidity of the Austrian generals.

The first chapter in the history of the war was closed on June 11th, 1742, when Austria, foiled in a desperate attempt to oust the Prussians from Silesia, consented to cede the province to Frederick. The main situation at midsummer, 1742, was as follows. The French were anxious to effect a junction between their two armies—to enable the force they had on the Rhine to march into Bohemia to the relief of the other French force at present shut up and surrounded in Prague. On the other hand, the British, stationed in Flanders, were equally anxious to effect a junction with their Hanoverian yoke-fellows. Stair's strategic aim was, by threatening the French frontier from the Netherlands, to draw away the enemy from the Rhine, and thus to enable the Hanoverians to join him. There were already 14,000 Austrians in the Netherlands, and the arrival of the Hanoverians would give the Allies a total strength superior to that of the French.

The plan, which included in its purview the capture of Dunkirk and an advance on Paris, was rejected, King George deciding against vigorous action on the ground that he was not at war with France, but only an

* John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair (1673—1747).

"auxiliary" of Maria Theresa! In the end a futile policy of delay, distraction, and dawdle postponed everything till the following year.

The Allies in Flanders separated for the winter of 1742-3, the Hanoverians and Hessians going into quarters at Liège and Luxemburg, and the British at Ghent.*

Several of the original orderly-books, most kindly lent for the purpose of this work by the Earl of Crawford, furnish some graphic illustrations of the military life at Ghent, as the subjoined extracts from the *Archiva Lindesiana* will show.

1742, September. It is my Lord Stairs orders that the sixpence stop'd from every Private Man in the Horse Guards, Horse Grenadier Guards, Light horse, and Dragoons, on account of forrage whilst on Board be accompted to them, and it is his pleasure that the Horse Guards, Horse Granadier Guards and light Horse, pay 9^d per day for their forrage and the Dragoons but sixpence.

A return is ordered of what horses were lost at sea, or, since they came on shore, by damage in disembarking.

1742 (Ghent) August 23rd, (O.S.) General Campbell orders Major Johnson of the Third Troop of Horse Guards to act as Brigade Major to the Horse Guards and also to the Horse, till a Major of Brigade for the Horse, comes to Ghent.

An order is issued as to saluting:—

The Centries at My Lord Stair's to rest to nobody except His Lordship but all other Centries to rest to all the General Officers of the garrison and the Field Officers of their respective Regiments.

The Centrys who have Bayonets fix'd instead of shouldering are to carry their Firelocks rested on their left arm.

Strict discipline is enjoined:—

That no Troop of Horse Guards, Horse or Dragoons, go out without the ports of the Town to exercise or water, without an Officer

* 1742, October 4th. The Duke of Newcastle, by order of the King, writes to Lord Stair to "keep the troops in Flanders in their respective quarters." The Duke "does this reluctantly, as he considers it a delicate point, being the first formal step that may be construed into inaction." (*Hardwicke Papers.*)

with them, and that such Officer do see them all return into Town again.

Friday September 10, 1742. Ordered that the Right Honourable the Earl of Effingham act as Brigadier General to the Horse and Major Goddard of the 4th Troop of Horse as his Major of Brigade, and they are to be obeyed as such.

The Piquets of the several Regts in Garrison to be form'd for the future at five o'clock in the evening.

September 17th—28th. That the troops of Horse Guards, the Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and the Regts of Horse and Dragoons, do immediately provide themselves with Baggage Horses Sufficient to carry their mens tents &c.—that an orderly man from the Corps of Horse Guards, from the Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and from each Regiment of Horse, foot and Dragoons do attend at the Main Guard to carry orders from the Brigadier of the week, to their several corps; they are to be relieved every day at the time the Main Guard is relieved, they are to shew themselves to the Captain commanding that Guard, who is to be acquainted when they are sent off with orders.

The orderly man of the troops of Horse Guards, Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and the Regiments of Horse and Dragoons to be with the coutre Guard of Dragoons and the orderly men of the Battalion of foot Guards.

Further precise orders relate to foraging:—

After the Horse and Dragoons have done forraging and wooding &c. that they appear in their Regimentalls clean and in good order.

That three Troups of Horse and Granadier Guards, the Regiment of Horse commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, the two Regiments of Dragoons, commanded by Major General Hawley and Sir Robert Rich, do forrage twice a week in the following maner at the Magazine appointed for that purpose. The three Troups of Guards and Lord Pembroke's Regiment to Forrage Hay and Straw for four days every Monday at the Magazine at St. Peters Bridge, begining exactly at seven o'clock in the morning and ending at eleven, and again at one o'clock in the afternoon and ending at five; they are Likewise to forrage for corn the same day from the Magazine at the Citadel, the Corps that take Hay and Straw in the morning taking their Corn in the afternoon, and the Corps that take Corn in the Morning taking their Hay and Straw in the afternoon.

1742, August 28th—September 8th. It is ordered that the Adjutant, or an officer appointed for that purpose, of each of the three Troups of Horse and Granadier Guards, one Quarter-Master of each of the Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, do attend during the time his Troup or Regiment is receiving their Forrage to see that it is properly deliver'd and made up in Trusses, according to the list of the Troup or

Regiment which was given in to the Commissary by the Major the day before, and to do his endeavour to prevent any disorder or abuse either by the Commissary of the Forrage and the people employed by him, or by the soldiers; that so soon as the Troup or Regiment have received their Forrage, the said Officer or Quartermaster is to sign a receipt at the Bottom of the said list, Specifying the Quantity of forrage delivered to his respective troupe or Regiment, which receipt is to remain with the Commissary as a voucher for the delivery.

It is the Generals express orders that an officer of each of the Troops of Horse and Grenadier Guards, the Regiment of Horse Guards Blew, and of all the Regiments of Horse and Dragoons in Garrison, do attend at the Citadel whilst their respective troops and Regiments are taking their Corn, and take particular care to prevent the men under their command from Riding upon and spoiling the several parades in the Citadel.

Strict regulations were enforced in respect to Church attendance.* The following is a type of order constantly recurring:—

The three Troops of Horse Guards and Granadier Guards and Lord Pembroke's Regiment of Horse to go to Church on Sunday morning at ten o'clock at the Prince Hoff and the Brigade of foot Guards att four o'clock in the afternoon at the same place.

Care was evidently taken to prevent any British soldiers from showing disrespect to the Catholic ceremonies observed in Flanders:—

1743. (Ghent) Friday, January 25th. The Commanding Officers of each Corps in this Garrison to give strict charge to their men to behave with Decency on Sunday next during the procession at the Public entry of the Bishop into this town.

Saturday, January 26th. That no none commission Officer or soldier presume to go into any of the churches of the Town tomorrow during the service. That two sergt's of the Brigade of foot Guards be posted

* 1742 (Ghent), October 1st. Lt.-Colonel Russell, of the Coldstream Guards, writes:—"Tis a shame we should only have two places for divine worship for all the troops in this garrison—one only for the horse Guards and horse grenadiers and foot Guards—Since the former came, they have constantly had the Church for the morning Service, and the afternoon only for us, but as the horse officers don't take up all the room allotted to them, I have an opportunity of going in the morning, and chaplains we have in plenty, and some very good preachers and agreeable young men." (*Hist. MSS., Mrs. Russell-Astley.*)

to morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon at the Doors of St. Jean's church and two at the Doors of St Jaques' church to prevent the soldiers from going into these churches, till the ceremony used at the Bishops entry be over, after which they are to return to their Quarters.

Disorderly conduct, especially drunkenness, is dealt with severely. Men caught a second time hiding bottles of spirituous liquors about them, are liable to be kept for a whole week on bread and water. Among the orders issued between the 19th and the 30th of December is the following :—

Lord Stair receiving dayly complaints of disorders committed by drunken soldiers, and particularly by those of the foot guards, recommends it to the commanding officers to endeavour to suppress that scandalous practice so prejudicial to the Service and to the mens healths.

There are signs of friction between troops and townsfolk :—

1742. November 24th—December 5th. Complaint is made to My Lord Stair by the Butchers and Brewers of Ghent that the soldiers who sell meat and Brew Drink, have contrary to former orders, sold both to the Burghers : the first caught, is to be sent to the Provost, and his effects immediately sold for the benefit of the sick in Hospital.

Another order prescribes strong measures to enforce Early Closing :—

The several Patroles in going their Rounds at night [to] observe what ale Houses and Brandy shops are open after tattoo and if possible to take the names of the persons such houses are possest by in writting and report them next morning to the Commanding officer of the Corps such Patrole belongs too who is to report the same to the Brigadier of the week in order that application may be made for suppressing such disorderly Houses.

Under the date of December 4th is the following :—

That the Earl of Stair has heard with great surprise of several officers selling their Ban horses directly.

Appended are various orders of the autumn of 1742 :—

The Commanding Officer of each Regiment in Garrison to give in a return to General Honywood to morrow morning of what is wanting.

to compleat the intire camp equipage and necessarys of the Regiment under his Command in order to their taking the field.

The Regiment of Horse Guards Blew and the Regiment of Horse commanded by Major Genl Ligonier [now 7th Dragoon Guards] to mount Picquet, Barrack and Stable Guards in proportion to their numbers, as Lord Pembroke's Regiment now does.

The Earl of Albemarle orders the Trumpeters of the several Corps of Horse Guards and Horse to take it by turns weekly to sett the watch on the Grand Parade: at Tattoo Beating to begin this night with the two Troops of Horse Guards, next Sunday with the Horse Guards Blue, and so on.

The Trumpets who attend the Parade are afterwards to sound at their respective Barracks which the Trumpets of the other corps off Duty are also to do euery night.

September 14th—25th. Brigadier Earl of Effingham, Brigadier of the week commencing tomorrow the 15th of September (O.S.).

A field Officer of the Day, which Duty is to be done by the Lt Colonels and Majors in Garrison according to Seniority. Lt Col: Kein, field Officer of the Day for to-morrow. The field Officer of the Day is to visit all Guards excepting the Main Guard, and to be received by all the Guards he visits with rested arms. At the time in the evening, that the Piquet Guards of the Horse and Granadier Guards, the Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and the Regiments of Horse and Dragoons do parade, he may visit any of them that he thinks proper; he is to see that the Officers have the exact numbers of men appointed for their several Guards, and that the men on Guard are sober; he is to view the several posts where Centrys are placed, and get in writteing from the Officer of each Guard the orders each Centry has upon his post; when he visits any Guard, if he shall find more men absent then two that have leave from the Officer Commanding the Guard, he is to order these men at their return to be committed prisoners, and to be sent immediately to the Barracks Guards of their respective Regiments, there to be confined for eight days, fed on Bread and Water, and the remainder of their pay to be stop'd for the use of the Sick Soldiers in the Hospitall; he is likewise to inspect into the Condition of each Guard Room, to see that everything necessary is provided sufficient and compleat, and that the Guard Rooms are kept clean and in good order.

When the field Officer of the day dismounts he is to make his report in writteing to the General at Orderly time.

September 20th. That the Horse and Dragoons do continue to Roll by seperate Rosters.

That the Regt of Horse Guards Blue and the two Regts of Horse do give a proportionate number of centrys with the Dragoons to the several Magazines where they take forrage. The field Officers of the Horse Guards to be left out of the Roster of the field Officers of the day, and that they do appoint one of their own corps to whom the Officer of

their Pickett is to make his report, and the field Officer to make his to the Earl of Albemarle.

The subjoined extracts relate to a review to be held by Lord Stair :—

Satturday, October 23^d 1742 (O.S.).

That noone of the Officers of the Garrison, or their servants doe ride upon the Review ground without Antwerp Port, till the Review is over.

No Centry from the Main Guard, to fix his Bayonet, except those at the Commanding Officers Quarters.

That the Provost Martiall be paid one Days Pay for every soldier that is Confined Prisoner in his Custody.

Orders for the Horse & Dragoons

To take all their small Accoutrements to Pieces & see that they be very well Cleand and Blacked, & then put together again.

The Bosses, Bitts and Curbs to be as bright as hands can make them.

The Boots to be as Black as possible, and their Knee Pieces not to appear above 3 Inches above the Boot top.

All their Arms to be as bright as silver.

The whole Buff accoutrements to be of one Light Buff Colour.

The Swords to be all Brightned.

The Hatts new Cockd, & made as clean as Possible.

The Lining of those Clothes that are Sullied to be washed, and in Roling up the Clothes, a Stick to be put in the Length of the Roll, & three Straps to each Cloke.

The Horses to be all trimed, & made as Clean as Possible, the Bridons to be all Cleand.

The Pouches of the Dragoons to hang all of an Equall size, one not higher than another.

The Gloves to be made as Clean as Possible.

Care to be taken that the men doe [not] ride to Long.

No Officer to stir from his Post during his being in the Feild, and that they doe all appear in their Regimentalls, & wear their Sashes over their shoulders.

These preparatory admonitions duly imparted, the arrangements for the review itself are thus detailed :—

Thursday, Oct^r 28, 1742 (O.S.).

Disposition of the Troops for the 30th of Oct O.S.

The Garrison to begin their March before eight in the morning to the Meadow, Sir Robert Rich's Regiment to march first, & take up their ground on the left of the Line, Major General Cope's Regiment to march next, & draw up on the right of Sir Robert Rich's, the King's

Regiment of Horse to march next, & then Major General Ligoniers, the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards to follow, & the Horse Guards & Grenadiers to march after them, Lord Cadogan's & Major-General Hawleys Regiments to follow the Guards, and are all to draw up on their proper ground. The three Battalions of foot Guards and Col: Duroures Regt to march out at Brussels Port and Pass the Scheld over a Bridge made their for that purpose and then to Draw up in the Centre

The Genl Officers to take their Posts

Lt Genl Honywood	} at the Head of Major Hawleys Regt on the Right.
Maj Gen Ligonier	
Earl of Rothes	
Lt Genl Campbell &	} Upon the Left.
Maj ^r Genl Hawley	
Majr Genl Howard and Brigadier Franton	
Earl of Albemarle	at the Head of the foot.
	at the Head of the Horse Guards.

When the Troops have been Reviewed by the Feild Marshall, the Horse Guards are to march off & form up on the Coutre, the Regiment of Horse Guards, & the Kings Regiment on the Corn Markett, & Major General Ligonier's in the open place near the fish Markett, where they are to remain whilst the Ceremony Lasts.

The review over, Lord Stair, Commanding-in-chief, issued a highly complimentary order of the day :—

1742, Sunday, October 31 (O.S.).

As my Lord Stair has seen with great pleasure the great Beauty of all his Majesty's Forces, both Horse & Foot, He is persuaded that the Troops he has not seen are answerable to the sample of those he has seen, and that there is nothing wanting to make that Body of Troops Irresistible, but that the flourishing youth of which the different Corps are composed should vye with one another to excell in their exactness of doing their Duty, in which case the British Troops will soon acquire the Reputation of excelling in Order & Discipline as they have already the Fame of surpassing other Troops in Vigour & Beauty.

My L^d. Stair expects that the Officers will picque themselves to stay in Quarters this winter, and that no Officer will desire to be absent but in case of necessity.

In that case My L^d. Stair flatters himself that very early in the Spring, his Majesty will find an army worthy of putting himself at the Head of.

As the winter wore on, *ennui* had a demoralising effect :—

(1743). Wednesday, January 2. Orders to be strictly observed

that no gaming be allowed upon the Guards, or anywhere else as the Adjutants shall be answerable for it.

That no Officer or his servant do walk the streets in the night without a Flambeau or Lanthorn.

That no Officers servants be suffered to go out of any of the Ports with either Lurchers or Greyhounds.

No soldier to go above twenty yards from His Guard Room without Leave from His Officer. The man that disobeys this order to be sent to the Provost.

That no Centry go above five yards from His post, nor take His Firelock off His shoulder during the time He is posted, except an Officer come by that He is to rest too. The Sergts & Corporals of each Guard to take care that this order is obey'd.

It is my Lord Stairs orders that tomorrow at Orderly time Lord Albemarle for the Horse Guards, Major Genl Ligonier for the Horse, Lt Genl Campbell for the Dragoons, Major Genl Howard for the foot, state in writting signed by them the maner proposed by each respectively to pay for the future the different Corps under their command.

CHAPTER XXXIX

IN the spring of 1743 the Austrians gained their object, and Stair's army began in February to move eastwards into Germany.* The Life Guards, Horse Grenadier Guards, Blues, and two regiments of Dragoon Guards stayed a while at Brussels, which the Empress-Queen entered in state on March 21st, escorted by a hundred of the Blues. By the beginning of May all had left for the Rhine, the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers under the command of Lord Albemarle, and before the month was out they were encamped at Hoechst, near Frankfurt, on the right bank of the Main.

The general disposition of the Armies on either side may be briefly described. On the left bank of the Upper Rhine, near Spires, was stationed a French force of 70,000 men under Marshal Noailles. About ten miles lower down the river, whose general course here is due north, the Neckar joins it from the east at right angles. Twenty-five miles further down the stream the Main flows into it on the right bank at Mainz. The general direction of the Main throughout for its last twenty miles from Hanau, through Frankfurt, to Mainz is westerly. But in its upper reaches, beyond Hanau—situated on its right bank—the Main curves round to the south-east and south. Five

* Stair made his forces march at night, and gave no information as to his destination. General Honeywood one day summoned up courage to ask him as to this. "Can you," said Lord Stair, "keep a secret, Sir Philip?" "As well," replied Honeywood, "as any man." "Upon my word," said Stair, "so can I." (Henderson, *Life of the Duke of Cumberland*, 1766.)

miles above Hanau is Seligenstadt on the left bank, and eight miles higher still lies Aschaffenburg on the right bank.

The Allies were spread out on the right bank of the Main throughout its whole length from Mainz to Aschaffenburg. Stair proposed to cross the Main, march to the Rhine, attack—or at least threaten—Noailles, and force him to retreat into Alsace. The Austrian general, Count d'Aremberg, concurring, though not co-operating, on June 3rd the Main was duly crossed by the British, but news at that moment arrived that Noailles was advancing from the south towards Frankfurt to attack the Allies. On discovering Stair's army already facing him on the hither side of the Main the French Marshal thought it prudent to refuse battle, whereupon the British—whose commander had acted in pretended ignorance of the King's veto—withdrawn again across the river.* The most pressing difficulty of Stair's army at this juncture was that of getting supplies and forage. Their position on the north and east bank of the Main had been taken up—greatly to Stair's chagrin†—by King George's express orders. Their magazines, as also their British, Hanoverian, and Hessian reinforcements to the number of

* June 7th. "The Queen of Hungarys Ministers and Generals are not pleased at your Excellency having passed the Maine before the whole army was got together. Nor do they think y' present situation a good one. They are unanimously of opinion that nothing shall be attempted till the whole army comes together and till His Majesty shall be there in person." Another letter of June 10th urges that no active step be taken beyond the definite orders already received, until the King's arrival. (*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 35, 455.)

† "When the army arrived at Hanau I proposed to seize Hoechst & lay a bridge over the Mayne to pass that river and to post our army in such manner as to hinder the Enemy in getting back over the Rhine, which from what had passed on the other side of the Danube, I judged would soon happen.

"I pressed the same advice with Your Majesty, by means of General Ligonier. I am ignorant how it came to pass that it was not followed" (*Earl of Stair's Report to the King*, *Brit. Mus.*)

12,000, were at Hanau; they must obtain forage either brought from across the Main, or carried by water from the country higher up. King George, under escort of a party of Life Guards detached to meet him on the road,* arrived on June 19th to take command of the army, the greater part of which had moved up the river to Aschaffenburg, in hope of drawing supplies from the district of the Upper Main. Noailles, who was kept well-informed of the plans of the Allies, had taken effectual measures to frustrate this object. He fortified his end of the bridge at Aschaffenburg; above that town he occupied a position on the river; and below it he possessed two bridges at Seligenstadt by which he threatened to cut the line of communication with Hanau. Thus, as the result of Lord Stair's advice having been set aside, the army was now threatened with starvation for man and horse. There was no choice but to return at all hazards down the river to Hanau. After a week's hesitation and delay, this step was decided on. The only road led northwards through a narrow plain, nowhere more than a mile wide, and situated between the Main on the left and some densely wooded hills on the right. Along the opposite river-bank the French placed guns at five points.

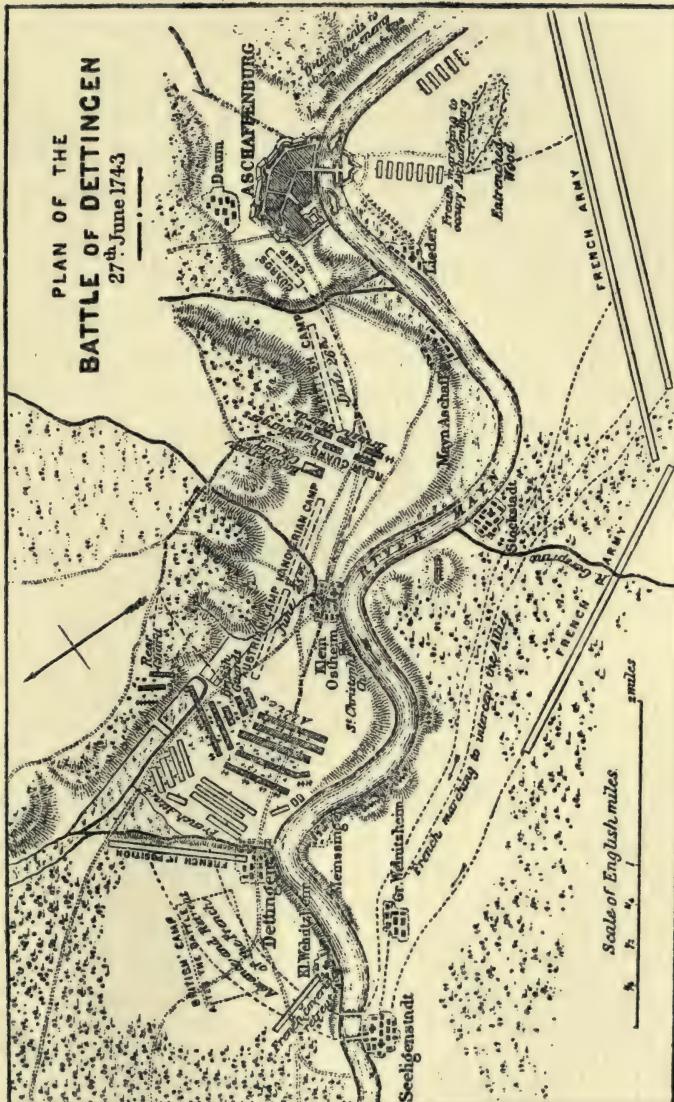
At 1 a.m. on June 27th, 1743, began the Allies' eventful march from Aschaffenburg towards Seligenstadt, eight miles distant. Noailles took instant action. His nephew, the Comte de Grammont, was at Seligenstadt with 28,000 of his best troops. Grammont was ordered to occupy the village of Dettingen, a mile nearer, where a small stream,

* 1743, June 4th, Hochst. Lt.-Col. Russell to his wife:—"It may be Monday before we march; it can't well exceed that, because a party of our horse Guards went yesterday to meet the King, who is expected at Hanau to-morrow." (*Hist. MSS., Mrs. Russell-Astley.*)

Hanover, June 6th. Carteret to Stair (*B. Mus. Add. MSS., 35, 455*):—

"His Majesty proposes to set out from here on Monday, and would have you send a proper escorte to conduct him at a proper distance."

PLAN OF THE
BATTLE OF DETTINGEN
27th June 1743.



BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

running through a morass into the river, could only be crossed by a single little bridge on the Hanau road. Here, therefore, it seemed a dead certainty that the Allies—confined between the river and the hills, with Grammont in front and Noailles cutting off their retreat, and with the enemy's heavy guns* across the river playing upon them at short range throughout the whole of their march—must come to grief as they attempted to cross the little Dettingen bridge. As Noailles himself observed, he had got them in a mouse-trap! Nevertheless, the event showed that though the wisdom of the uncle might propose, the folly of the nephew was to dispose.

The marching army—both men and horses already half-starved—took three hours to get well under weigh.†

* A battery of 18-pounders was sent forward by the left bank.

† There is some apparent difference among the authorities as to details. The following vivid account is extracted from a letter written to his wife by Mr. Kendal, a private gentleman in the Third (Lord Albemarle's) Troop of the Life Guards:—

"The Same day (i.e. June 26) I mounted the King's guard, & in the afternoon the K's baggage, & all the Generals were packed up, & sent into the fields. The Generals took the field that night, but we little thought what it was for: We who were upon the Kings Guard, which were 36, were ordered to have our Horses already bridled, to go out with the King that night. At two in the morning the king mounted his horse & went into the field, & reviewed the Austrian & Hanoverian Troops, which by this Time were marched to the left of the English; the King finished his review about nine, & was very well pleased, & well he might for they are the finest Tps I ever saw; he then ordered all the foreign Tps to march & Join the English; the King rode by them & we thought he was going to Hanau where his baggage was gone, but we were soon convinced to the contrary for he had not rode above a mile towards the French, but they began to fire at him from a battery of 12 pieces of cannon but as God would have it they levelled too high. I saw several balls go within half a yd of his head. I was in the first rank next the King; our Capt had his hat shot off, the man on my right hand had his horse shot & the man on my left was shot in the shoulder, & the next to him shot dead. Then they fired from three batteries upon the horse & the balls flew thick as hail. All this time the King was not at all concerned; the Duc d'Aremberg desired him to go out of danger: He made Answer, 'Don't tell me of danger. I'll be even with them': he is certainly

At 4 a.m. King George left Aschaffenburg, none too soon for his safety, escorted by Life Guards, Lord Craufurd being Gold-Stick-in-Waiting. The vanguard was formed by the cavalry, first the British, and next the Austrian; then the infantry in the same order; lastly—with a view to a probable attack from the rear—the British Foot Guards, and the Hanoverian infantry and cavalry.

As Aschaffenburg was left behind, the enemy were seen on the other side of the river—some of them near enough for their officers to converse with the British—preparing to cross and occupy the town.

At 7 a.m., after a four miles' march, the village of Klein Ostheim was reached. Here only a single road was available, this part of the plain between the wooded hills and the river being the narrowest of the whole route. The cavalry, having passed first, halted for an hour for the rest to follow, and at this point they were destined to suffer the first of the series of cannonades at close quarters which the enemy had in store for them.

While the march, resumed about eight o'clock, was in progress, it was reported from the front * that the French the boldest man I ever saw. This firing happened just by their baggage, & they ran with their Waggons amongst us & almost over the King. The crying of the women & children frightened the King's Horse, & he ran away with him, but he soon stopped.

"By this time the French were drawn in Line of battle & playing their cannon on our horse, especially the Horse Guards, Honeywood's, the Blues, & Legioniers, which were on the right of the foot, & had three batteries playing on them for three hours, before the small shot began.

"The Blue Regiment at last fought desperately, and suffered but little; we had not above twenty killed in our Life Guards, but a great many horses. All the General Officers declare great Satisfaction; and the King told us, as we had beat such great numbers as nine to one, for the future we should be more equally matched, for he never would have his English lads starved, but he would turn them out against two to one with any power in Europe. I could give you a great deal more news, but Time will not permit. . . . (*Gent. Mag.*, 1743, p. 386.)

* "The march from Aschaffenburg was made entirely without my knowledge. I got into my coach in the morning wishing to continue

at Dettingen were advancing in force to the attack. De Grammont, in his impatience, had quitted the position he had been given to hold. The Allies at once received orders to deploy into line of battle so far as the confined situation of the ground permitted. To enable this disposition to be made, the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers—under Lord Craufurd,* colonel of the Fourth Troop—together with the Blues, were ordered to cover the infantry, while forming, by taking up a position on the river bank. Here, for between two and three hours—from 9 a.m. till nearly noon—they were exposed to a heavy cannonade, with no small loss, until the British guns, brought up from the rear, arrived. These were admirably served, and did great execution, the fire of the French battery being somewhat checked, though it again became very severe a little later.

When the line of the Allies was formed, at about noon, the Life Guards and Blues took their places in it. The left consisted of seven regiments of British infantry; to the right of these, in the centre, was a brigade of Austrian

there during the March, but being afterwards informed the French were passing the Maine and advancing to attack us I at once got on Horseback, & made all the disposition proper for the drawing up of our army in order of battle which I executed without any confusion. Y^r Majesty coming up I had the honour to acquaint you with everything I had done & you expressed approbation of all." (*Earl of Stair's Report to the King.*)

* John Lindsay, 20th earl of Craufurd (1702-1749), was the son of John, 19th earl, who commanded the Second or Scots Troop of Horse Grenadiers, 1703-1714. He was educated at Glasgow, where he challenged and beat a dragoon officer. He left the academy in Paris in 1723. He once threw a French marquis into the river in presence of the King at Versailles. Capt. 3rd Guards (Scots Guards) 1734, joined German army under Eugène 1735, passed into Russian service 1738 and distinguished himself in two campaigns, returned to imperial army and wounded at Krotzka, 1739. In 1742 "while the Earl was in his tour to the British Army, H.M. honoured him with the Commission of Colonel of the Fourth or Scots ('Union') Troop of Life Guards." (*Lives of the Lindsays*, p. 360.)

infantry ; while on the extreme right were the Blues, the Life Guards, and two regiments of dragoons. The second line was made up on the left of five infantry regiments, and on the right of five regiments of cavalry. The French had their infantry placed, as usual, in the centre ; the cavalry of the *Maison de Roy* and the *Gendarmerie de France* occupying the right, and their other cavalry the left.

General Clayton, commanding the British infantry on the left, saw the danger he was in, and promptly obtained the aid of the Third Dragoons—now the Third (King's Own) Hussars—to strengthen his flank next the river.

The Allies slowly advanced, while the French guns across the river greatly harassed both horse and foot of the British left. The battle was really begun by the French infantry in the centre, whose undisciplined fire was answered by the British with the regular platoon firing for which they were to become celebrated. Against such a fire the French found it impossible to stand, and when the British, at Lord Stair's signal, broke out into a loud cheer,* the enemy fell back in disorder.

The British left was now to sustain the onset of the enemy's heavy cavalry. Clayton withstood the shock with his Dragoons and three of his foot regiments. Out-numbered by more than four to one, the Third cut their way through the *Maison de Roy*. The British infantry had for their assailants the splendid *Gendarmerie de France*.† The deadly fire of the English soldiers, who

* Lord Stair, when checking the first irregular cheer, called out, "When I give the signal, let the huzza be general through the line, and—my life for it—the victory is ours." He was so pleased with the general cheer that he exclaimed, "If I can't beat them by firing, I can beat them by huzzaing." (Henderson, *Life of the Duke of Cumberland*.)

† The *Gendarmerie de France* was founded by Henri Quatre and ranked immediately after the *Gardes du Corps*. It was suppressed with the *Maison du Roi* in 1788. It consisted of eight squadrons. The probability seems great that in England, just as the Life Guards followed a French prototype, so the Royal Regiment of Horse—the Blues—was

were as cool as if they were on parade, successfully repulsed the French cavalry.* Twice more the Third Dragoons, now enormously outnumbered, charged right through the enemy, but this last effort left them with three-fourths of their original number dead or disabled.

Clayton meanwhile had urgently asked for cavalry reinforcements.† Honeywood's Horse (1 D. G.) and Ligonier's Horse (7 D. G.) brought from the right, attacked the *Maison de Roy*; they were closely followed by the Blues. All three regiments made their attack without sufficient cohesion for formed by Charles the Second on the French model of the *Gendarmerie*: its rank immediately next to the Life Guards being one suggestive parallel, and its general employment in time of peace on constabulary duty supplying another close resemblance. It consisted also of eight troops.

* Stair gave orders not to fire till the colour of the eyes of the enemy could be distinguished; in this he was partly obeyed, though some regiments fired too soon, and at too long range. The gens d'armes and black musquetaires got right up to Clayton's division, where each side seemed to pause for a moment in mutual admiration of the order and regularity of both sides. Grammont cracked his whip, which was the signal agreed on, and the French Cavalry rushed on. (Henderson, *Life of the Duke of Cumberland*.)

† Hanau, June 21. O.S. 1743. . . . General Clayton, by the Dukes permission, sent me to the General of the Horse for some Cavalry to support him. I rode to the right of the Army, a good deal alarmed by the fire of the canonading, but arrived safe with my orders: But in returning to the Duke, a Canon-shot tumbled me & my horse to the ground, & there I remained in great distraction & distress: I then saw my Lord D——re to whom I applied for a horse having left me but a moment before in the thick of it, where I concluded he was left dead: his Lordship excused himself from mounting me as he had but one servant with him: when luckily for me a poor Tper was shot dead whose Horse I seized & mounted, & trotted away to the Horse Grenadiers & Horse Guards commanded by the Lords Crawford & Albemarle. I begged to put myself in the ranks with the men which they permitted, & then I returned to the fire. After Standing part of that affair, the Duke's Horse having received four wounds, run away with him towards the Enemy, where he received a ball in his leg, which disabled him, & obliged him to quit the field. He then sent for me: I found him under a Tree upon his back, weltering in Blood, &, as I thought in his last moments, we got him into a coach, &, with some difficulty, found a Surgeon. (*British Glory Revived*.)

a successful shock action, and at far too high a speed in view of the poor condition of their horses; and they were for the moment obliged to retreat in some disorder.*

One important point with reference to this unsuccessful charge of the Blues and their companion regiments is worthy of notice. Gustavus Adolphus, in restoring shock action, ordered his cavalry, when charging, to fire their pistols before assaulting with the sword. A print in Packe's *Historical Record of the Oxford Blues* represents a trooper in the uniform of 1742 in the act of firing his pistol at the foe. At Dettingen the French *Gendarmerie*, charging down on Clayton's infantry, fired their pistols and threw them into the enemy's face, before attacking with the sword. In all probability the Blues would similarly have used their pistols first—only to find, however, that the steel breast-plates of the French cavalry were proof against pistol fire—a manifest disadvantage to the assailants, who had no like protection. Lord Craufurd showed himself aware that this pistol-firing checked the horses in their stride when—at a later period in the battle—he bade his Life Guards charge with the sword at once, without emptying their pistols. The Blues, a little out of hand and on blown horses, wheeled about; then, rallying in rear of the infantry, they re-formed, and, once more advancing, delivered a second, and evidently a third, charge against the enemy's cavalry.

* Ligonier's own account says, "Our cavalry supported for eight or nine hours the most severe cannonade that was ever known, and then attacked the Household Troops, who supported the antient reputation of their corps with great bravery." (*Hardwicke Papers*, MSS. Dept. Brit. Mus.)

The "eight or nine hours" of course refers to the time of the whole march from Aschaffenburg.

The accusations levelled against the Blues in connection with this charge will be fully examined, and, it is hoped, finally disposed of, in the next chapter.

Meanwhile, encouraged by the check to the British horse, the *Gendarmerie de France* once more swung down at full trot upon the British foot, and this time, taking no denial, broke the line. For this brief success, however, they paid dearly, for the English, who "did not retreat, but bent back only,"* quickly rallied, and surrounded their enemies ; and then their fierce hail of bullets poured in from every side, working frightful havoc among the French.

Rich's (4th) and Stair's (6th) Dragoons with two Austrian regiments now made for the *Maison de Roy*. Twice they charged them and twice were beaten off. A third time, aided by the now rallied Blues, they drove the flower of the French cavalry back.†

At about the same moment, the *Mousquetaires Noirs*—a corps largely composed of high-born youths—leaving their line of battle, rode down between the two armies to attack the extreme right of the British cavalry, where they are said to have supposed King George to be. The English and Austrian horse closing in upon them, they were almost totally annihilated.

Then the French Household Cavalry, once more fiercely attacked by the Blues in front and the Scots Greys ‡ in flank, were finally beaten and put to rout. It was at last the turn of the Life Guards. Opposite to them still stood some of the *Gardes suisses* and *Gardes françaises*—the flower of the French infantry. An aide-de-camp rode up to Lord Craufurd with instructions to advance his Brigade against them. Something in the text or tone of the message

* Phrase used in one of Colonel Russell's letters.

† Gen. Bland wrote :—" My Regiment was sustained by Lord Stair's Dragoons, the Blues, and Honeywood's Horse ; so that few or none of the Musquetairs and the rest of the French Squadrons escaped," etc. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1743, p. 381.)

‡ The Greys were brought from the right of the line to support the Blues. A strong tie of friendship has constantly existed between the two regiments.

appears to have irritated Craufurd, for his reputed reply, "Mind Sir, I shall obey orders when it suits most proper," savoured either of indiscipline or of a snub to the subaltern. However, a cheery word to the Life Guards quickly followed, and, with strict injunctions to trust to their swords and forget their pistols, he led them straight to their front. The charge well delivered was also well met; but the determined rush of the big men and horses was irresistible, and the French infantry gave way. The trumpeter of the Fourth Troop had the happy inspiration to sound "Britons, strike home!"—which drew a quick nod of thanks and approval from his Colonel.

The sound of the trumpet was quickly drowned in the cheers of the Life Guards, whose patience was at last rewarded, and who, hot-blooded and heavy-handed, flung themselves on their opponents and drove them off the field.

The pursuit, with Lord Stair's full approval, was continued down to the water's edge, and not a few of the fugitives—among whom, it was said, were many of the *Gardes françaises*—were drowned in their attempt to escape. So keen was Craufurd to carry out the spirit of Stair's instructions that, finding his men were forging far ahead of the confederate cavalry, he rode up a mound and waved his hat frantically to indicate that, if they would only support him, a total rout of the French would ensue. The confederate generals' advice, however, outweighed that of the English commander, the fact being once more suddenly borne in upon the King that he was "not at war with France"; further pursuit was forbidden, and the French retreated beyond the Main unmolested.

Craufurd justified his reputation as a bold and skilful cavalry leader. Earlier in the day he had successfully manœuvred his brigade so as to cause a French battery to be masked for some time by a body of French cavalry—this battery being understood to have the King and the



PRIVATE GENTLEMAN, 4TH TROOP OF HORSE GUARDS, 1742.
From a Rare Print.

Head-Quarter Staff as its objective. Lord Craufurd was the recipient of a special mark of favour. The King sent for him to look at his holster-case, into which a bullet had dropped, and turning to his staff said, "This is my champion."

His fearlessness was infectious ; he said to a man who very pardonably ducked his head when the cannon balls were whizzing over him, "Don't stoop, my lad, for if they are to hit you, they will for all that."

He had a word of caution or encouragement for every individual officer under him ; he had something cheery to say to every one he came across, and at a critical moment rode along the front of his brigade calling out, "Never fear, my boys, this is fine diversion ! " *

He also contrasted strongly with some of his luxurious contemporaries, for, although still suffering acutely from the severe wound received in 1739 at Krotzka,† he declined the King's suggestion at Hanau that he should occupy a house, and said bluntly that he would prefer to bivouac with his brigade.

The total French loss was 5,000 ; that of the Allies about half that number. On the British side, Clayton was among the killed, and the casualties included the following :—In the Third Troop of Life Guards one private gentleman was killed, and its colonel, William Anne, Earl of Albemarle,‡ Lieutenant-Colonel Lamelonière, Major

* Letter from Mr. W. Robinson, a private gentleman in the Fourth Troop of Lifeguards, who adds :—"At which Nick of time a volley of Grape shot came from the enemy, wh: luckily flew over our heads. Then he ordered us to huzza and brandish our swords, and soon after the Monsieurs' light hearts seemed to fail them suddenly." (*British Glory Revived.*)

† The wound in the thigh, from the results of which he eventually died on Christmas Day, 1749, was diagnosed and operated on at Belgrade on September 23rd, 1739, by surgeon Laponge of the Fourth Troop of Life Guards.

‡ Lord Carteret, however, in a despatch written on the evening of the battle, says, "Lord Albemarle had his horse killed under him, but suffered no other hurt." (*British Glory Revived.*)

John Johnston, Captain Willes, and two private gentlemen wounded ; in the Fourth Troop, two privates killed and two wounded ; in the Second Troop of Horse Grenadiers, two privates killed, and Lieutenant and Adjutant George Augustus Elliott* and one private wounded ; in the Blues, one drummer and seven privates killed, and one officer and eleven privates wounded. The Allies left 600 wounded on the field, whom De Noailles treated well.

The Duke of Richmond, who had served in and subsequently commanded the Blues, and who had been promoted General at the beginning of the year, writes to the Duke of Newcastle (*Br. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 32, 700) :—

1743, June 30. King's Quarters at Hanau. As to be sure Your Grace will have a very particular account of the Battle of Dettingen from my Lord Carteret, I shall say nothing to you upon it, only that our brave troops are in high spirits and long to be at it again. H.R.H. the Duke, thank God, is in a very fair way of doing work, if only they can keep him quiet, but his spirits are so high and his tongue runs so fast that we are in eternal fears that he will talk himself into a fever. I assure you that the Horse Gardes did remarkably well.

The Duke in a letter to R. Trevor says :—

1743, July 7th. King's Quarters at Hanau. By the account printed here, you will think the attack of *Maison de Roy* was only

* No more distinguished Horse Grenadier can be named than George Augustus Elliott, 1st Baron Heathfield. Having been educated at a French military college and seen service in the Prussian army when eighteen years old, he was gazetted in 1739 as cornet in the 2nd Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. His promotion, though entirely deserved, was perhaps accelerated by the fact that his uncle at that time commanded the Troop. Young Elliott was quickly appointed lieutenant and adjutant, in which capacity he served in the war of the Austrian succession, being wounded at both Dettingen and Fontenoy. He purchased his captaincy in 1745, his majority in 1749, and his lieutenant-colonelcy in 1754. In the year last named he resigned his commission of Field engineer, which he had held concurrently with his rank in the cavalry. It is on record that the efficiency of the Horse Grenadiers in the later years of their existence was largely due to the system of training instituted by Elliott. His equipment and command of the 15th Light Dragoons (now 15th Hussars) and his distinguished services as Governor of Gibraltar are matters of history.

on our centre, and that they alone were engaged ; whereas the whole French line, and all our first line, were engaged. . . . I was on the spot during the whole battle. . . . Certainly their whole army—that is, all that crossed the Main, were beaten by our first line, which was composed of most English and some Austrian foot—in all not 15,000 men.

The paper is quite wrong as to the numbers of killed and wounded. . . . We have certainly lost (that is, *hors de combat*) above 2,200, and the French between 7,000 and 8,000. (*Hist. MSS., Earl of Buckinghamshire.*)

De Noailles put the best face on the matter when he wrote on the day after the battle :—

“Je crois la perte des ennemis plus grande que du nôtre ; je ne leur connais d’autres avantages que d’avoir resté maître du champ de bataille.” (*Add. MSS., 22, 537.*)

The battle over, the King dined on the battlefield off his favourite viand—a cold shoulder of mutton. He had certainly contributed his fair share to the victory by the force of his example. Like all his race, George the Second did not know what fear was. He was here, there, and everywhere during the progress of the fight, leading, encouraging, and exhorting his soldiers. He was repeatedly under fire, and with his own hands assisted in working the guns of a Hanoverian battery on the Allied right, which did good service against the French artillery.* Remonstrated with by d’Aremberg for so exposing himself, he exclaimed that he meant to be “even with” the enemy. Further representations only evoked the reply, “Do you think I came here to be a poltroon ?” Dettingen was the last battlefield on which a British Sovereign has commanded in person ; and it is but just to say that no final appearance of the kind could have been made with greater credit, or attended by a more honourable exit.

* 16th—27th June. Lord Carteret writes to the Duke of Newcastle from a cottage which he was sharing with Marshal Neipperg : “His Majesty—God be praised—has this day gained a very considerable battle. The Hanover artillery has had a very considerable share in this victory. Marshal Neipperg says he never saw any artillery so well served.”

APPENDIX

THE following extracts relating to the battle of Dettingen are taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1743:—

1. From a letter of Mr. Edward Ingleton of the Life Gds to his Brother.

“Filwell, June 20 O.S. 1743.

“Our men & horse could stand it no longer for in three days they had but one feed of corn, & neither Hay nor Water: However we took the French Life Guards standard; we charged them sword in hand, when they stood nine file deep, & we but three file deep, & drove them out of the Field with the devil to them.”

2. From a letter of Mr. Hooper to his Wife.

“... Thank God neither I or your son received any damage. Major Johnson* of our Troop had his leg shot

* Major John Johnston, of the Third Troop of Life Guards. Appointed Ensign in Lord Mark Kerr's Regt 19 January, 1715; Lieut. on 6 March, 1718; promoted Captain in Disney's regt 2nd December, 1726; Exempt and Captain 3rd Tp. Life Guards 5th July 1735.

He was on the Duke of Cumberland's Staff at Dettingen, where he lost a leg and as a reward for his services was given the Governorship of Charlemont Fort, co. Armagh (see *Charlemont Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 202; *Hist. MSS., Com.* 12th Report, Appendix, part x., from which it appears that in 1745 he was then Governor of the Fort). He died in 1770. Col. Wade-Dalton of Hauxwell Hall, Finghall, Yorkshire, possesses (1907) a portrait of Major Johnston. The leg which the Major lost at Dettingen was “shot off as he rode close to His Majesty.” (Lord Carteret's despatch in *British Glory Revived*.)

off, one Cowell of our Tp, which was in the front rank, & next to me, had his Leg shot, which was broke, with the shot, & afterwards cut off & died soon after, & that was all we had hurt to signify; a great many slightly wounded, but I hope they will recover again. The fourth Tp had two shot dead; one Miller, who was here in the last war, & the other was one Bristow, who carried your apron home to his wife when you were in Ghent. The H. Grenadiers lost but one man."

3. *From a letter of a Gentleman in the Fourth Troop of Guards.*

"Our three Troops of Guards being in the front, stood the whole fire of their Cannon from 9—12 more exposed than all the Horse & D'oons in the whole army. Not above 100 of our Troop engaged, 'twas headed by Ld Craufurd, the 3d by Ld Albemarle, Mr Bristow & his horse were shot at my side by a cannon ball. I saw Robin Millar, Sharman, Emmet, Coppin & some others fall. Col Driver had two horses shot under him, just behind me. We never retreated till we beat the French out of the field in a shameful manner. They left 4 field pieces behind them & a vast quantity of baggage: we pursued them till 7 o'clock, when the King rode over the field of battle. We are almost starved, I have had nothing but ammunition bread this fortnight & water or sour wine. Before we engaged we through all our baggage away, so that we are obliged to lie with our horses in our hands in the open fields. We fought the battle in a field of Rye, our horses have nothing but green corn this fortnight of which we have destroyed thousands of acre. Tho' we far'd so hard our courage did not fail us."

4. *From a Letter.*

“Hanau, 19. June. O. S. 1743.

“. . . The Horse Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards behaved well, & stood bravely the strongest battery of the French for two hours, they concluding that the King was amongst them, but H. My was in the midst of the fire riding from rank to rank, animating the men, & promising them the Reward of their Bravery and Merit. . .”

A book entitled “*The Operations of the British and the Allied Armies during the Campaign of 1743—4. Historically Deduced: By an Eye-witness. 1744*” sheds some light on (1) the Cavalry formation in the two Armies at Dettingen, and (2) the arrest of the British pursuit when the battle was over:—

I.

The French joined all their Cavalry in one Body with at least a double depth, while no care was taken on our part to make the like disposition, but our Cavalry was suffered to remain drawn up in single Squadrons. . .

II.

Neiperg, insinuating that the French had made dispositions to cover their retreat by entrenchments in the Village of Dettingen, prevailed on His M——y to stop S——’s design, and to encamp on the field of battle.

J. Brown, of Bland’s (the Third) Dragoons (now Hussars), was a hero in a regiment of heroes. In an effort to recover the standard dropped by a wounded cornet he lost two fingers of his bridle hand and was run away with to the rear of the French infantry. He saw the standard being carried off by a *gens d’armes* whom he attacked and killed, and then cut his way back to the English lines with the standard between his leg and the saddle, receiving seven wounds in so doing. He was made a K.B. and given a post as private gentleman in the Life Guards.

CHAPTER XL

EVER since the battle of Dettingen there has existed an ill-defined but disagreeable impression that all was not well with the conduct of the Blues on that auspicious day for the British arms. Even the best-read as well as the most favourably disposed of military writers have either made dark allusions to a certain regiment of horse unspecified, or, naming the Blues, have offered cheerful assurances that whatever may have gone wrong with them at Dettingen was subsequently "wiped out" by their altogether admirable and universally acknowledged valour two years later at Fontenoy.

The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue), which has gathered laurels in plenty on many a hard-fought field from Aughrim to South Africa, is not content to sit down under an imputation of cowardice or indiscipline at Dettingen. It indignantly repudiates the insulting innuendo that the memory of any incident in the Blues' behaviour at Dettingen needed "wiping out" at Fontenoy. Conscious that it has nothing to lose by a full disclosure and impartial investigation of all the known facts of the case, it can but welcome any light that can be thrown upon them. Accordingly it is the aim of the present chapter to examine the evidence on the subject, and the result, it is hoped with some confidence, will not be deemed unsatisfactory to the *amour propre* of the famous Regiment concerned.

Conspicuous among those who have cast a slur on the conduct of the Blues at Dettingen is Lieutenant-Colonel

Charles Russell, of the Coldstream Guards, whose own regiment was held in reserve at Dettingen, though he himself as a major-general would be present on the field. Writing to his wife, Mrs. Russell, under date of Wednesday, July 3rd (N. S.), from the camp near Hanau, he says:—

Captain Smith and Major Car both were much wounded, but are now thought to be out of danger. They confess with great concern the ill-behaviour of their men. The Blues did still much worse. Major Honeywood's behaviour was gallant beyond expression, and thank God 'tis thought he will recover. (*Hist. MSS., Mrs. Russell Astley.*)

On Sunday, July 7th, he adds:—

The behaviour of all our horse officers was commendable, but the private men, especially of that regiment called the Blues, was scandalous; one general officer* had ordered some platoons of his regiment to present and was going to fire upon the latter cavalry, but in consideration of the officers of that corps prevented it. (*Ibid.*)

Miss Fanny Russell, improving the story, observes in a letter to her brother of July 12th:—

I hear† the Blues are sadly blamed. They say the King was forced to stand sword in hand, and rallied them three times; that they did great mischief by going back and trampling upon the foot that was behind them. (*Ibid.*)

The gallant colonel, not to be outdone by his sister, writes again on July 24th, with the further embellishments which ill-natured tittle-tattle had meanwhile suggested:—

As for the Blue regiment of horse, they fairly one and all faced to the right about and never stood their ground. Late Pembroke's‡ pretty near followed their example. Though there was not one man nor horse of that corps hurt by the great cannonading,§ yet when they should have

* See the reference, quoted below, to Brigadier Huske, who was with the Welsh Fusiliers.

† Miss Russell, as lady-in-waiting to Princess Amelia, would have heard the mendacious story brought by Over, the messenger.

‡ A colloquial phrase meaning "the regiment formerly Lord Pembroke's."

§ The list of casualties, as the Duke of Richmond points out, sufficiently refutes this allegation.

attacked the enemy's horse, they failed, but suffered their officers to charge without 'em, which in some measure occasioned that slaughter among 'em. (*Ibid.*)

A letter from Miss Fanny Russell to her brother of August 9th (St. James's) is worth quoting:—

I had a long letter two or three days ago from Lady Harford, to beg I would contradict a false report that was spread all over the town . . . of the ill-behaviour of her Lord's regiment, and that Col. Beake intends to get a letter from Lord Stair in their vindication, and that it should be printed. (*Ibid.*)

Two more witnesses appear to support one or other of Russell's accusations. Lieutenant Wolfe, the future hero of Quebec, was present at Dettingen as adjutant of Duroure's Regiment (the 12th Foot, now Suffolk Regiment). He writes to his father on September 1st, N.S., 1743, from the camp near Worms:—

I shall say nothing now of the behaviour of the Blue Guards; I wish they may do better next time, & I don't doubt but they will. It w^d do me a great deal of sorrow if they do not.

There is nothing in this rather rueful communication to indicate any other basis than that of mere hearsay, of which there was plenty. Indeed, as any student of the Dettingen fight will admit, it would be difficult to name a battle of which the accounts could be more bafflingly at variance* or more obviously based on uncritical gossip. This was noted at the time by a contemporary London journal:—

The many accounts we have had of the late affair of Dettingen, instead of enlightening, seem to have perplexed most people, and a friend of mine said on receiving a fifth letter from the army, with a relation quite different from the other four, that if he had a sixth and

* Col. Russell himself, the arch-traducer of the Blues, showed an inclination to back out of his reckless assertions:—"I could wish the accounts I sent you of the late action had been less confused, but I assure you the truth was so little known amongst ourselves that one could scarce depend on anything one heard."

seventh letter of the same stamp, he should begin to doubt whether there had been a battle or not. (*Champion*, July 7th, 1743.)

The one accuser of the Blues whose evidence has any pretension to be admitted as that of an eye-witness is Mr. John Forbes. Lord Balcarres (*Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 221) wrote, "President Forbes' son, when the Blues were running away, would not move, and called them villains for leaving the King's Standard. He was a sensible and honourable man and a very brave officer of cavalry." It is a precarious assumption that Lord Balcarres has accurately represented what Mr. John Forbes said and did. But, even if Mr. Forbes, not having seen active service before, disapproved a temporary withdrawal in order to prepare for a subsequent renewal of the attack, the opinion of this junior subaltern cannot outweigh the more mature judgment of the officers commanding the squadrons engaged, whose views, as will be seen, are on record.

The accusation of cowardice thus finds no substantial support from any quarter. On the other hand the adverse testimony is overwhelming in its abundance and cogency.

The following letter* is signed "G. E."—initials which identify the writer with George Eyre, an officer of the Blues whose life-history is well known. It is therefore possible to confront the vague, intangible, self-contradictory and anonymous gossip of the Regiment's traducers with the direct, definite, consistent, and thoroughly attested denial of an actual participant in the affair:—

A Letter from a Lieutenant in the Blues to his brother, in which the whole affair of their conduct is discussed, & the Honour of the Regt. fully vindicated.

Hanaw Camp, July 25, 1743. O. S. [August 5. N. S.]

DEAR BROTHER,—

I send this by the very first Mail, in answer to yours, which informed me that many disgraceful reports and scandalous Aspersions

* In the King's Library, Brit. Mus.

were spread in London and generally credited, relating to the behaviour of Our Regt., in the late action at Dettingen : indeed you tell me that the whole load of Infamy is thrown upon the Men, for it is universally said that all the Officers behaved extremely well, and us'd all the Means they cou'd to animate them, which seems to be some sort of Consolation to you : but we shall not let it rest here, for as no Body of men in the Field [showed] greater marks of Bravery and Courage than our Regiment, we think every Officer is bound in Honour and conscience to endeavour to wipe off this ignominy and justify the character of our men.

When we were order'd to the Banks of the Main to cover the Infantry while they were forming, as I told you in my last, we sustained the severest cannonade that ever happened in any action, from three large Batteries, and though we had several men and horses killed and wounded in this post and fully expected to be all tore in pieces, we stood firm and immovable, like a senseless bastion to be battered for upwards of two hours : and this ground we maintained till properly ordered off for other services ; and we appeal to all the world whether this inactive defenceless State was not the most disagreeable situation, men could be in ?

Can it then, upon any just grounds, be supposed, that men who behaved so intrepidly would refuse to Charge ? Surely No ; for that was greatly preferable, because infinitely less dangerous, than the post we were in ; and we all looked upon this order, instead of refusing to obey it, as a sort of Delivery from immediate death ; & when General Honeywood led us on the charge, I solemnly declare, that our men advanced with the highest spirits, most undaunted resolution and greatest alacrity ; I own at first we were obliged to retreat, but this accident was not due to the cowardice of our Men, but their impetuous courage, for we advanced too fast and too near and so found ourselves with a few more squadrons opposed to the whole Wing of the French Horse, interlin'd with Foot without any support. Were we then to throw away our lives wantonly, without doing the least service to the Cause ? Surely NO. We acted prudently, wheel'd about, soon form'd again, fought bravely, and did great Execution.

This I do assure you, is a fair, true and impartial detail of the Conduct and Behaviour of the Blues, and you know I can't deceive ; therefore I desire you would publish this account as much as possible, and vouch it in my name, wherever you have an opportunity, for we all have the highest resentment of this scandalous abuse & declare whoever were the authors of these injurious false Reports are lying Scoundrels and dare not attest what they have said to the face of any one man in the Regt.

But I must still go on a little further, for this affair galls us on the quick. We had advice of it about ten days before I received your letter, and much to the same purpose ; upon which Colonel Beake, Major Jenkinson, and Sir James Chamberlayne,* who commanded the

* *Vide* their memorandum to the Duke of Newcastle, *infra*.

three squadrons of our Regiment, immediately waited on Ld. Stair and shewed him what accounts they had received; he seemed greatly surprised, approved of their behaviour, and expressed his concern at such false and scandalous aspersions, and promised that he would write to England by the first post in order to put a stop to such groundless Reports, and would take every opportunity to vindicate the Honour of the Regt.

But at the same time he did declare that he went to the head of a certain Regt. that did behave much in the same manner as had been reported of the Blues, which probably gave Foundation, through Mistake, for these Reflections; but this Regt. must be nameless, unless we find it absolutely necessary to clear up the Reputation of ours.*

Gen. Honeywood has likewise been acquainted with the whole affair, and does declare that he led us on to the charge, and that our Men behaved as well, and went on as boldly and cheerfully, as any horse ever did; that these aspersions are false, scandalous & malicious & that he would write forthwith to Mr. Pelham, in Justification of our Conduct & Behaviour.

This also came to the Knowledge of the Duke of Richmond who finding it upon enquiry to be absolutely false in every instance wrote immediately to the Duke of Newcastle† to acquaint him that all those scandalous Reports concerning the behaviour of the blues, which prevailed in London were entirely without foundation, & desired his Grace wou'd do what was in his Power to prevent their gaining credit.

But perhaps all that I have said, as I am a party concerned, may not be sufficient to convince some prejudiced People, though I am assured all my friends will believe me. I only desire you would refer such persons to the Duke of Newcastle's where any gentleman may have a fair account of the whole affair. We are determined to vindicate the character of our Regt. & therefore your letter will be shown to Ld Stair to-morrow to put him upon every method to do us justice.

I am

Yours, etc.

G. E.

This obviously veracious account is corroborated in every particular by a letter equally authoritative, except that it is anonymous—namely, a letter written by an officer in the Blues a fortnight after the battle:—

Hanau Camp, July 12. O. S. [July 23. N. S.]

We have been very much alarm'd here, by a Report spread at *London* to the Disadvantage of our Regiment; which, tho' well known to be

* It was widely asserted that a Hanoverian regiment had refused to charge.

Vide his correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle, *infra*.

false, yet to such of our Friends as can only judge from what they hear, needs an Explanation. 'Tis said, that the *Blues* refused to advance to the Charge, notwithstanding the Orders of my Lord *Stair*, who put himself at their Head for that Purpose. This is absolutely false in every Circumstance, and I am therefore obliged to give you a more particular Account of the Regiment's Behaviour, than otherwise I should have done, as I had, and still think it so, the Honour to serve in it. The *Guards* and *Blues* forming in the Left of the *English Cavalry* were drawn up on the *Mayne* Side to cover the Foot while they form'd the Line of Battle; this Post they maintained with great Constancy, with cold inactive Death before their Eyes, upwards of two Hours, tho' raked by one Point-black, and two casual Side Batteries all the Time; nor quitted they their Post 'till order'd off by the proper Officer. . . . Thus far then, the *Blues* behaved well; now let me tell you ingenuously wherein they were defective. When they were led on to the Charge by General *Honywood*, instead of advancing a gentle Trot, which would have kept them close, and by that Means preserved the superior Weight of their Horse; they advanced full Gallop, with such Impetuosity, that one of their Squadrons were got in beyond the first Line of the *French Foot*, and directly opposite to the whole Body of their Cavalry; nor halted till ordered by the General himself, when he went off with Intent, I suppose, to order other Squadrons to our Support. This Action of the *Blues* may betray want of Experience, but I think argues no Want of Courage. During this Halt, as many squadrons of *Honywood's* Regiment, who had follow'd the Steps of our Indiscretion, notwithstanding our Halt, advanced near Musket-Shot beyond us almost to the Noses of the *French*; who by this Time had doubled their Front, lined their Intervals with Foot, and were advancing to the Charge. So small a Force being thus opposed to so large a body, so well appointed, you may imagine the necessary Consequence was Route; in short, *Honywood's* presently wheel'd to the Right, ran in upon our two Squadrons, before we had even an Opportunity to charge, broke us, and we are all obliged to retreat behind the first Line of Foot, where we form'd again. I can't help observing, that this Repulse was lucky in its Consequence, and not a little Instrumental in gaining the Victory; for the *French* Household Troops flush'd with their Success, ran in directly upon the Line of our Infantry, who flank'd them, gave them their whole Fire, and almost tore them to Pieces. My Lord *Stair* has given his Word to send immediately a true Account of this Affair to *England*, in order to wipe away any false dishonourable Aspersion on the *Blues*. The above Account I give under my Hand, and am ready to maintain as Matter of Fact; so that you have it in your Power to clear up the Reputation of our Regiment, already I fear too sensibly injur'd, and, as the most inconsiderable amongst them, that of

Yours, &c.

(From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xiii.—“Historical Chronicle,” July, 1743, pp. 381, 382.)

The Blues were well advised in laying their case before their former comrade, General the Duke of Richmond, with the request that he would bring it under the notice of the Secretary-of-State. This he instantly did:—*

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

King's Quarters at Hanau, Wednesday, July 13, 1743.

My LORD,

I must beg leave to trouble your Grace with an affair that is of the greatest consequence to a corps that I shall ever love and value. They have been cruelly, falsely and scandalously aspersed in England, and we have traced it to the spreader of the lye and find it to be Over, the Messenger.

The enclosed is a copy of part of a letter from a gentleman in London to Coll. Beake which as soon as the Coll. received he layd before my Lord Stair, who publickly declared that the whole was a lye, as did also his Gentleman of the Horse, Mr. Drummond, who is quoted in the letter; and this has obliged the officers in vindication of their own honour to publish a fact which otherwise they never would have mentioned. It was that they were not broke by the enemy but by the King's own Regiment of Horse commanded by General Honeywood, who, turning from the enemy, ridd in full amongst them and broke their ranks, which was the very time they were accused of giving way themselves; but they afterwards formed, and I saw them myself in perfect order, and before this hapned everybody agrees they stood the strongest cannonade with as good a countenance and as much intrepidity as any regiment in the King's service, as you may easily imagine when I tell your Grace their loss by cannon shott—

Killed.

Wounded.

1 Cornet

8 men

11 men

22 horses

14 horses

besides Sir J. Chamberlayn's Horse, who commanded a squadron, that had his jaw broke. I only mention this to show your Grace the cannonading was hott, and everybody is witness to their standing it like brave men.

I must therefore joyn with them in desiring that example may be made of the messenger. Enclosed is a letter to your Grace signed by the commanding officer of each squadron. I hope you will give attention to it as it really comes from injured men of honour that claim your protection.

I am, my dear Lord,

Your obedient and humble servant,

RICHMOND.

* The following correspondence is found in *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*
32. 700.

Enclosure I.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in London to Colonel Beake.

July 12, 1743.

Mr. Over, the Messenger, who came from your camp last night, has spread a most scandalous report of your Regiment which has got into the mouth of everybody, though altered by people who report it variously. It says the Blues did not advance as they should have done, and that Lord Stair came up and ordered you to advance, which your whole corps refused to do; upon which his Lordship said, "If you won't advance, make way for the Foot who desire to go on," which you really did.

This account he says he had from Mr. Drummond, Master of the Horse to Lord Stair. The first person I got it from was Sir William Yonge. I askt him where he got it from, whether by letter or word of mouth; he answered by word of mouth, but would not tell me who.

Mr. Pelham told J. Sharpe of it, but not the same way, for he said the officers would have advanced but the men would not. Lord Hartford has heard of it and so have all the Lords Justices.

Some people have reported that you ran away, but I answered that it was the French Blews and not the English True Blews that could turn tail.

In fact the whole has arisen from this messenger, and I have sent him word that he ought to have his ears cut off for daring to report so scandalous a thing, and that as soon as I received your answer I would stroke him myself and get the Lord Chamberlain to turn him out. The messenger was with the Prince of Wales and the Princesses and told them the same story. It therefore behoves you to sett this matter right, and to get a letter wrote by Lord Carteret to the Regiment. If you will send me a letter to Mr. Pelham I will carry it to him.

Enclosure II.

Hanau Camp, July $\frac{12}{23}$, 1743.

The most scandalous reflection having been cast on the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, in which we have the honour to serve, by one Over, a messenger, we who commanded the three squadrons on the day of the Battle of Dettingen do in the name and at the request of the officers of the whole regiment, beg leave to acquaint your grace that upon the receipt of Mr Sharp's letter, of which the Duke of Richmond is good enough to send Your Grace a copy, we did wait on My Lord Stair, who declares the whole substance of it to be false, scandalous and groundless, and Mr Drummond—who he makes the first author of this infamous report—does likewise deny he gave him any direction or authority to say what he did. The Duke of Richmond, who has thoroughly examined into this matter, hath promised to set the whole

affair in a true light before Your Grace. In him we entirely confide to do us justice, and we beg of Your Grace to get some severe punishment inflicted on the author of our dishonour, and that you will publish to those who had this story in so false a light, just in the same manner as the Duke of Richmond remits to Your Grace. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves your obedient Servants,

P. BEAKE,
A. JENKINSON,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Besides the covering letter to the Secretary-of-State given above, the Duke of Richmond appended to the foregoing memorandum an additional note of the same date, addressed also to the Duke of Newcastle:—

I must add something to the letter here enclosed that I have troubled you with in relation to the blews. There has been an outcry against them here, and I find the same in England, spread by the messenger, as Sharp has sent word to Beake, in which I hope or rather believe Your Grace will do them justice, for I never can doubt to the contrary. You will say, how came you to be obliged to go to them yourself, as you saw by my letter to the Duchess of Richmond; but I can answer that I really then heard they had turned tale, as everybody thought in their rear by their being broken to pieces though they were quite formed again by the time I got up to them. But that is fully explained; not but that I own, and so do their officers, that the men did not show the spirit they should have done and which was expected of them on such an occasion, that is only they did not rally so fast as they should, nor did they go on with their cheerfulness that some of the Foot and Dragoons did. But to say they ran away, or even *gave* way is absolutely false, and to do the officers justice, they have behaved in this affair like men of honour; whilst nothing was said, they accused nobody, but when their reputation was called in question, they declared the truth and saddled the right horse. I beg pardon for giving Your Grace this trouble but it is in vindication of a sett of honest and brave men I have always loved and esteemed.

The Duke's single point of criticism relates to the fact—already noted in a former chapter of this book—that the Blues, after charging at full gallop and with their horses blown, got out of hand and were too much scattered to concentrate instantly when ordered: “they did not rally so fast as they should.” As to their lack of “cheer-

fulness," the Blues would have been more than human if, after being ordered back by their commander, hustled by a neighbouring regiment, abused by a Brigadier, lectured by a subaltern, and "roused" by sundry busybodies who knew nothing of the circumstances, they had not shown some signs of being "riled."

The Minister's judgment was that of every reasonable man:—

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Whitehall, July 26th. [O. S.]

I hope you will be satisfied with what I wrote in my other letter, which is an ostensible one,* and that from the officers of the Blue Regiment. . . . The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Grafton, and my Brother are all of opinion that the certificate given by Lord Stair and Your Grace is the best justification that can be of the Behaviour of the Regiment and that the turning out this poor Devil of an impertinent ignorant Messenger would not have the effect intended, and therefore it would be better to drop it. However as you can never desire anything of me that I will not do, as far as depends on me, I will be entirely guided by you.

A correspondence also took place between the Colonel of the Blues and the Duke of Newcastle.

LORD HARTFORD TO DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

July 27th. [O. S.]

My LORD,—

I can't help troubling your Grace upon an unlucky affair which has given me a great deal of trouble occasion (*sic*) by a false and scandalous report that Mr. Over, one of your messengers, has made about the Blue regiment at the Battle of Dettinghen. I have had letters from the regiment and find the report quite groundless, and I find that the officers and private men are enraged at this false representation of them; that I really don't know the consequence if something be not done to clear their reputation, for the story is got about all over the Kingdom and if men do their duty and be afterwards represented as cowards, there will be an end of all command.

* This letter has not been found.

They write me word that the Duke of Richmond has sent a letter to your Grace with an account of their behaviour, which he was present and I was not.

I hope you will order a justification of them to be published in the next Gazzet and by so doing you will make a Corps happy, as well as, My Lord,

Your Grace's obedient Servant,

HARTFORD.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARTFORD.

July 29, 1743. [O. S.]

I have the honour of y^r Lordship's letter, and shall be very glad to do anything in my power to do justice to the behaviour of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards. I have already acquainted those I have heard talk on the subject with the Representation I had received from the Duke of Richmond and the officers of the Regiment; I have also put the letters into my Lord Chamberlain's hands relating to the charge against Over the Messenger.

As to publishing anything in the Gazette, I cannot insert any private account in that paper—which is never practised—nor indeed put in anything relating to the behaviour of any part of the Army without the the King's orders.

Read in the light of these explanations, the complaints of the worthy officer of the Welsh Fusiliers who penned the following observations are seen to be based on a misapprehension, less of the facts, than of the reason for the facts:—

In the Camp near Hanau, June 10. From an Officer in Col. Piers's Foot, the Welsh Fusiliers.

If the Blue Guards, and some others of our Horse and Dragoons had done their Duty as he (Major Philip Honeywood) did, few of the French had escaped. We were obliged to make an Interval to let the Blues through us. Brigadier Huske, who was at the head of our Regiment, exhorted them, in the best Manner that cou'd be, to return to their Charge, but to no Purpose; and we were forc'd to let them pass, for our own Security, otherwise we had been broke to Pieces by them. The only Huzza the French gave, was at their Retreat, and that but a feint one. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1743, p. 386.)

Even that “feint one” might have been spared, had the enemy foreseen what was going to happen presently, when the tables were to be turned! The Welsh Fusiliers would naturally be annoyed by the breaking of their ranks,

and the excellent Brigadier Huske of course could not possibly know that the halt and retirement of the Blues was ordered by General Honeywood himself with the deliberate object of reforming the Regiment.

The official account, published in the *London Gazette* of July 16th, contains the following paragraph :—

In the mean Time the British and Austrian Cavalry passing thro' the Intervals of the Foot, went and attacked the Household Troops of France ; they found them interlined with Foot, and many of our Regiments were repulsed. However, they soon rallied and returned to the Charge, our Lines of Foot still advancing, etc. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1743, p. 383, col. 2, par. F.)

This, though abbreviated, sufficiently authenticates the circumstances connected with the handling of the Blues, though they are not mentioned by name.

The proverbial difficulty of overtaking a falsehood when once it has obtained a start is well illustrated by the persistent circulation of the Dettingen calumny long after its complete and conclusive exposure. In the *Life of the Earl of Stair*, by “An Impartial Hand,” there is an account of Dettingen in which, after making mention of the charge of the Black Mousquetaires, the writer says :—

Much about this time their [the enemy’s] Infantry came up, which General Clayton observing, desired that a Detachment of Dragoons should be sent to prevent the Enemy flanking him on the side of the River. The Blues were instantly sent, but the French Cannon playing furiously the young horses startled and directly ran off. This created a damp among the generals, but the deceased Lord said, “There is a mistake. I will bring back the Blues.” With these words he galloped after them, roused their courage, and led them back to the charge.

The paragraph is a tissue of blunders.

1. It was not “much about the time” of the charge of the *Mousquetaires*, but long previously, before the fighting had commenced, that Clayton asked for dragoons to strengthen his riverside flank.

2. Clayton did this, not because the French infantry "came up"—in point of fact they never did "come up"—but because he found his infantry faced by French cavalry.

3. So far from the Blues being "instantly sent" for this purpose, it was not they, but the Third Dragoons that were so sent—with the magnificent results we know.

4. Only when the French infantry in the centre had been worsted did the great cavalry attack against the British left begin to develop.

5. Even then the British infantry had held their own, and the Third had thrice charged the enemy, before Clayton asked for cavalry reinforcements.

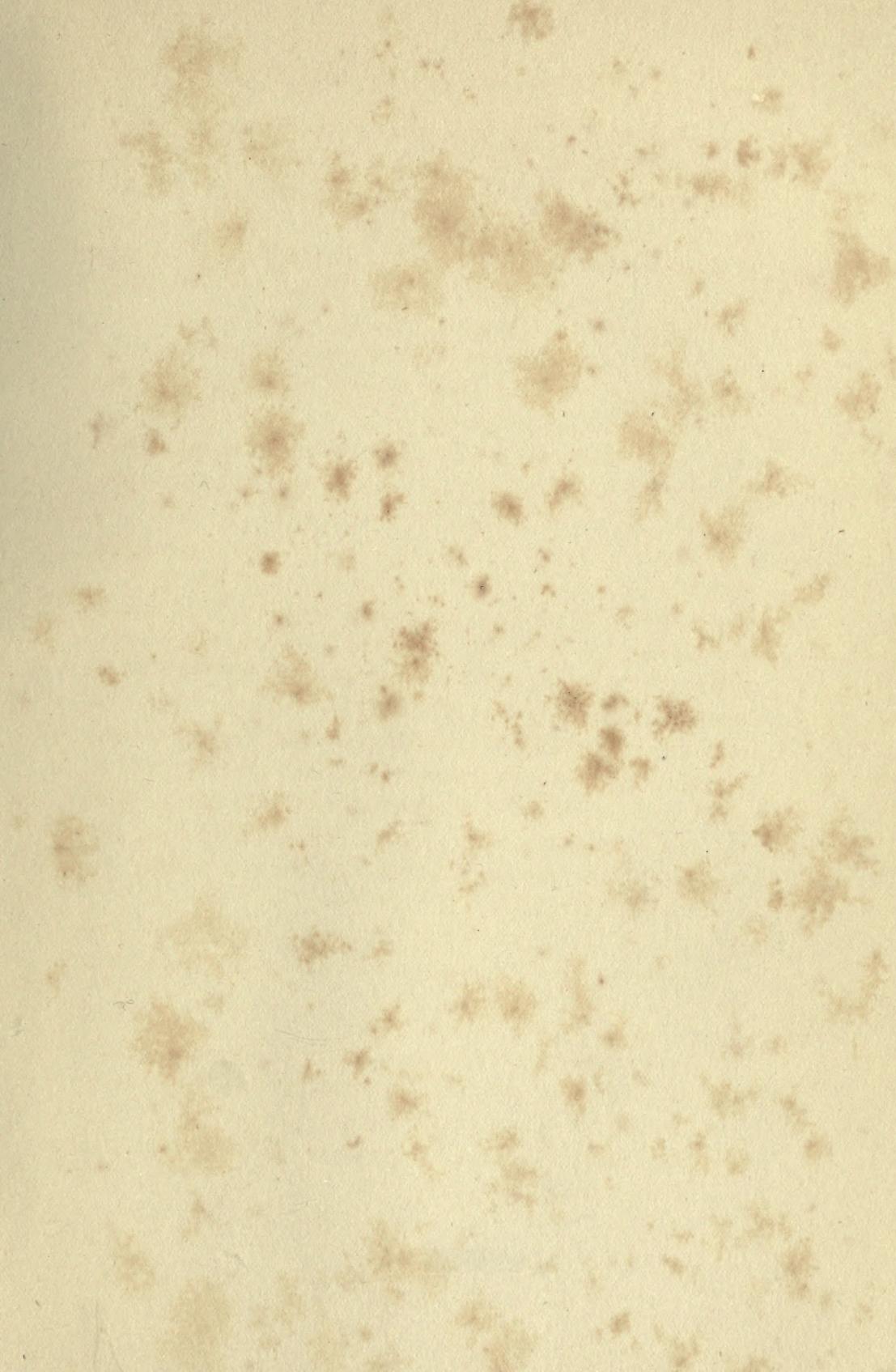
6. The Blues now intervened for the first time, being brought up with two dragoon regiments from the right.

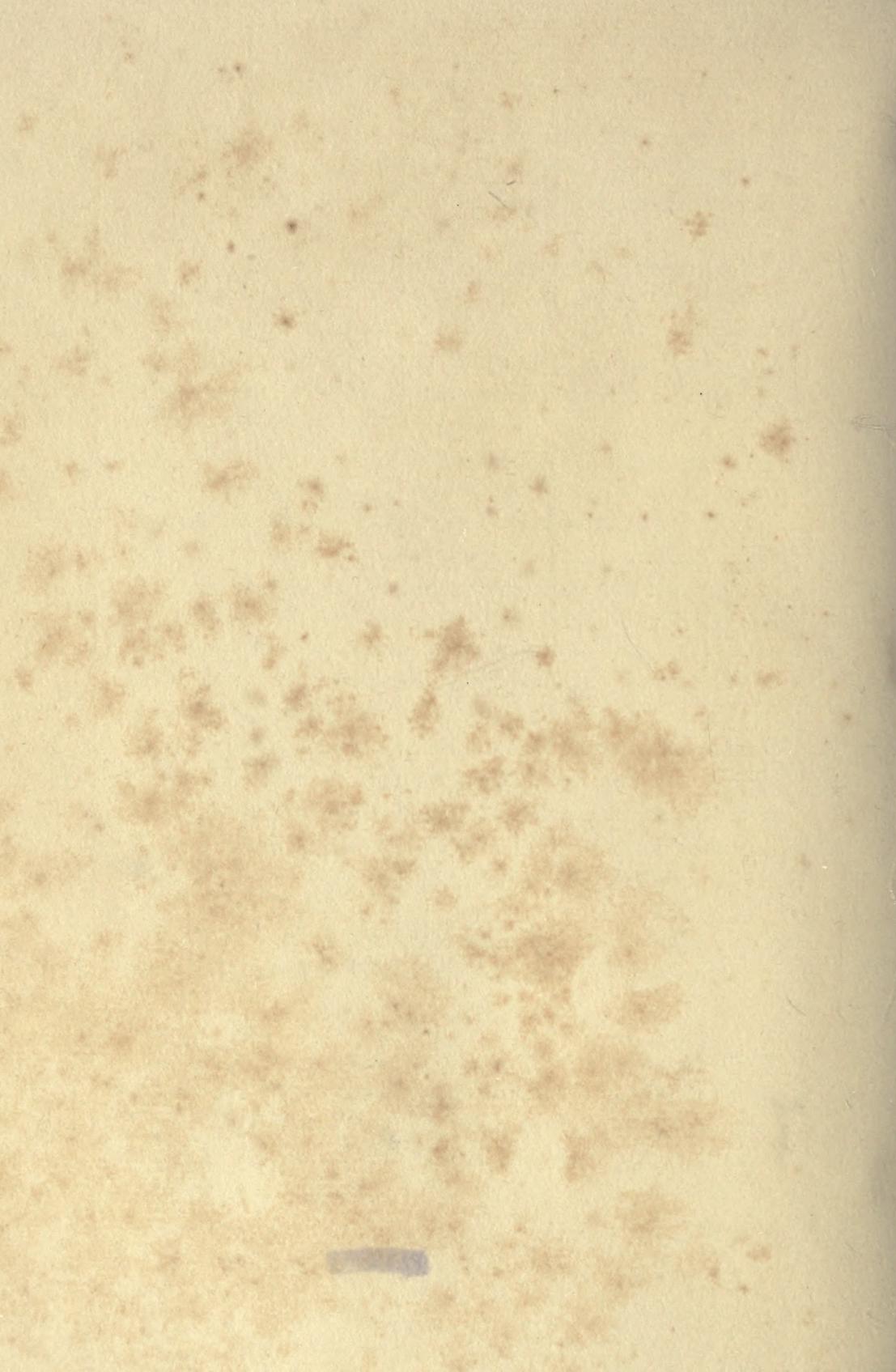
7. None of the eye-witnesses mention the furious cannonade as occurring now: they all agree as to the three hours' cannonade bravely endured by the Blues and the other cavalry at an earlier period.

8. The authentic story of the Blues' deliberately ordered withdrawal before immensely superior numbers and of their subsequent brilliant success, as related in the words of men who took part in the action, does not bear out, even when it does not contradict, the account of the "Impartial Hand."

9. Lord Stair himself told the officers of the Blues that the accusation was "false, scandalous, and groundless."

Such are the facts of the case. Now that the myth as to the conduct of the Blues at Dettingen has been closely examined, and that even the mode of its genesis has been traced, it may finally be relegated to the limbo of clumsy and discredited libels.





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